

Critical History

ENGLAND,

In Two VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE being no History of *England*, nor of any Period of it, but what is exhibited in immethodical Collections, Diaries, Journals, Lives, private Memoirs, Pamphlets, and News-Books, without proper Connection :

And the two last Histories, the Earl of *Clarendon's*, and Arch-Deacon *Echard's*, being publish'd with a manifest Intention to bring Disgrace on the Principles and Practices, which are the Foundation of our present happy Constitution :

The Author of the *Critical History of ENGLAND*, has form'd a Design on the Plan of *Thucydides*, for a Regular

History of ENGLAND, during the Reigns of the Royal House of STUART.

That Period being the most important to us, and our Posterity, of any Part of *English* History, as containing the Origin of the Design to destroy our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties, Rights, and Properties; the Progress that was made in it; the brave Opposition that it met with in all those Reigns, and its utter Overthrow at the Revolution: An Example worthy the Imitation of future Ages, as it is the Glory of our own.

This Work will contain about 200 Sheets in Folio, and, besides the common Memoirs, will be furnish'd with Matter from several authentick Manuscripts, Informations, and printed Papers, not yet made use of in any History of those Times, to render it as New and Entertaining, as it is Useful and Necessary.

The Authorities will be every where inserted in the Margin, and no Reflections be made on Persons or Things, but what are born of the Subject.

'Tis propos'd to print it by Subscription, at a Guinea a Book in Quires, Half a Guinea down, and the other Half Guinea on Delivery of it, in or about *Hillary Term*, 1728.

Subscriptions will be taken in by Mr. *Pemberton*, Bookseller, in *Fleet-Street*; and at other Places: Of which Notice has been, and will be given in the Weekly Papers.

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THE
Critical History
OF
ENGLAND,
Ecclesiastical and Civil:

WHEREIN

The Errors of the Monkish Writers, and
others before the Reformation, are Expos'd
and Corrected.

As are also the

DEFICIENCY and PARTIALITY
OF

Later HISTORIANS.

And particular Notice is taken of

The History of the } *And Mr. Echard's*
Grand Rebellion, } *History of England.*

WITH

REMARKS on some Objections made to
Bishop Burnet's History of his Times, and the
Characters of Archdeacon Echard's Authors.

Also an Explanation of a Passage in the Bishop's Hi-
story relating to King WILLIAM, which has generally
been misunderstood.

The THIRD EDITION Corrected and Improved.

To which is added,

AN ESSAY on CRITICISM; as it regards Design,
Thought, and Expression, in Prose and Verse.

LONDON: Printed for J. PEMBERTON, at the Buck
and Sun against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street.

MDCCLXXVIII.

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THE
CRITICAL HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND
Ecclesiastical and Civil



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THE PREFACE.

THough I cannot say I was prevail'd upon by the Importunity of Friends to publish this Treatise, I can safely affirm I was much and long importun'd to write it; and should not have undertaken it, had I not thought it necessary for the Preservation of our present happy Constitution in Church and State.

Had there been any Thing of Pique, Envy, or Jealousy in it, I should have been more impatient, and not have suffer'd my Passions to be Six or Seven Years a cooling. The Undertaking is, I know, invidious, and liable to Misrepresentation. As I love Ease, and the Good-will of Mankind, I would do nothing to disturb the one, or forfeit the other: But I am not sensible of deserving either, by the Pains and Trouble I have been at, to prevent the Mischiefs that have, and may be done by some Modern Histories.

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If Whitlock and Rushworth are true, the History of the Rebellion cannot be so. If the present Government is founded on Revolution Principles, and it is the Interest of England to preserve Union and Love among Protestants; the whole Bent of Mr. Echard's History lies another way, from the Beginning to the End.

What can be more necessary then, than to set People right in that which most concerns them, their Religious and Civil Liberties, and justify the Proceedings of the present Age, by those of the past? What can be more useful, than to confirm our English Principles by those of our Ancestors, and shew that the Revolution is an ancient and certain Part of our Constitution? Of which nothing appears, but the quite contrary, through all Mr. Echard's History.

If in what is to come of it, he should be oblig'd to speak more favourably of the Foundation of our Establishment; it will hardly make Amends for the Shakes he has given it in the History of the Reigns since the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

The Parliament that restor'd King Charles the Second, justify'd the Proceedings of the House of Lords, and House of Commons, from the first Session in November 1640, to the

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the End of the Civil War; as being in their own Defence, and to bring Delinquents to Justice. Yet, during all that Period, the Historian treats them as so many Rebels; and vindicates, or extenuates all King Charles the First's Invasions of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

Is it fit that such an Impression should be left on the Minds of Englishmen; or that the Resistance at the Revolution, should be represented as a Rebellion? Is not our most Gracious Sovereign's Rightful and Lawful Title, the best Security we have for all that is dear to us, too much struck at in such bold Assertions, or dangerous Insinuations; and is it not the Duty of every Loyal Subject, as far as he can, to disprove and oppose them?

As to Mr. Echard's Honesty, I am as ready to do him Justice as any Man; but there's a great deal of Difference between Honesty and Zeal, and between Honesty and Genius. 'Tis pretty plain, by his Preface to his last Volume, that he look'd on his Work as in a Degree of Perfection, above Censure or Criticism; and I would never have given him Cause to think otherwise, had not the Errors in it turn'd most upon Things of the highest Concernment. The World should have thought what they pleas'd of his Method, his Conduct and Stile. They might have match'd them

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with those of Livy and Cicero. I should not have envy'd him the Character; though perhaps I might, in those Points too, have had my Objections. But when I found that all our Fathers and we had said and done for Liberty, Spiritual and Temporal, was unsaid and undone, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Parliament in 1640, & seq. and the Convention in 1688, represented as so many Acts of Sedition and Rebellion; it was high Time to look about, and see whether there was any Reason or Right in our Constitution, or any Truth in what the Historian said against it.

So far I suppose the Reader will join with me; and how he will do it in the Prosecution of my Design, I must leave to his Candor and Judgment.

Whatever Airs the Historian gives himself, whether he resents or despises my Remarks, it shall be alike indifferent to me: For I did not at all consider him in the Work, but the Interest of the Publick. However, it will be an entire Satisfaction to me, and the greatest Reward I would hope for, after so much Trouble and Pains, if he himself should be among those that shall be convinc'd of the Necessity of it for preserving the sound Principles, which are the Basis of the best Establishment in the World, I mean those of the Revolution.

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The Bishop of Salisbury's History of his Times, will go a good way in expelling the Poison, with which the Reader may be infected by Mr. Echard's. The Endeavours of a Faction to depreciate his Lordship's Performance, will be as impotent as other Attempts of theirs to subvert, or perplex the Government. I have in this Treatise observ'd what the Bishop foresaw of Answerers and Abridgers, who like the Bubble of the Brook are broke as soon as blown, or rather are forgotten, like last Tears Flies. The next Thing they have in View, after the Pay, is to be taken Notice of; and to name them in any Manner, would be Compliment. One of the Bishop's Remarkers does that for himself, as if really his Name was worth being known, and there was no Shame in putting it to so dull and scandalous a Libel.

*As to the Abridger, Bishop Burnet's own Sentiments will be most satisfactory: ABRIDGMENTS, * says his Lordship, are generally hurtful.*

I must confess I was surpriz'd to meet with some Men of Sense and good Disposition, who gave into the common Calumny of the Disaffected, with respect to the Bishop

* *Vide* Pref. to the Abridgment of the History of the Reformation.

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of Salisbury's History, when there is not the least Appearance of Insincerity in it. There are Negligences of Stile, and some Things taken upon Hear-say, not exactly agreeable to the Fact: And how was it possible for an Historian to avoid such Slips? He cannot know every Thing himself. It is sufficient that he has his Memoirs from credible Persons, for him to give Credit to them; and relate them as Truth. A great Part of the Bishop's Work was within his own Knowledge, and one cannot but believe what he delivers to be true in so Religious and Solemn a Manner. In most Places he names the Persons from whom he had Information; and it is very plain he has said nothing which he did not really know or believe. Upon the whole, there cannot be a History written without some Imperfection; and no Man can write of such Things, and in such Times as the Bishop did, but he must give Offence to one Side or other; and to offend that which has the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our Country against it, is worth no bodies Concern.

That Passage which has given such Offence to all Lovers of King William's Glorious Memory, and such Pleasure to its Enemies, is notoriously misinterpreted by both; as I could easily prove, if I was not shock'd with the Subject, even from the very Expression, and that it refers only to Drinking:

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ing, In which his Majesty was sometimes, tho' very rarely, too free with his Constitution, but did it always with great Secrecy and Choice of his Company; as the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Ranelagh, the Earl of Portland, the Lord Sydney, the Lord Newport, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Montague, Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, &c. Men of Wit and lively Conversation, proper to unbend a Mind fatigu'd with too much Application to Business, and this pleasant Society broke up eight or ten Years before the King's Death; His Majesty leaving it off to avoid the Imputation which the Reverend Historian insinuates here.

The kind Reception the First Impressions of this Treatise met with, encourag'd me to write the Second Part which relates chiefly to Echard's History, and Clarendon and Whitlock compar'd, which relates chiefly to the Grand Rebellion.

I was appriz'd of an Objection that some People have made to it. The Design, they say, is good, and the Execution of Excellent Use, but then it is too short; one of the best Faults a Book can have, and I wish I cou'd say the same of Mr. Echard's.

I thought I had sufficiently obviated that Objection, by the very Title, The Critical History

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History of England, &c. not the History of England; but, was it not for the Jingle, it might properly enough have been call'd the History of the Histories of this Kingdom, which I particulariz'd to refer the Readers to them for the Facts.

If I were to write the History it self, I shou'd not have been so much diverted from my Subject by Remarks upon others. And whether I shall ever have Time or Courage for such a bold Attempt, my Fate alone must determine: Sure I am, that Work is yet to come; and it were very easy to procure Authentick Memoirs, to supply the Place of Echard's Tales, Visions, Dreams, Speeches, Proclamations, Ceremonies, &c.

As to the Ten Letters publickly address'd to me, upon the Subject of the Falsities and wilful Errors in Mr. Echard's History, I have said something of them in the Body of this Book, when Occasion offer'd; and shall only here assure the Reader, that they are so far from being, as we meet with in the Foppery of some Farces, Letters from a Man to his own self, that I knew nothing of them, till after they were Printed and Publish'd; but confess I was pleas'd to find that what I had said of his History was approv'd of, and supported by a Man of so good Sense, Knowledge and Integrity.

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Since the last Impression of this Treatise, I have had so good Reason to be satisfy'd of its Success, that it has excited me to attempt the History of that Period of Mr. Echard's, which contains the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart, according to the Advertisement herewith publish'd; and in that History I have endeavour'd to set People Right in those Places where the Archdeacon misl'd them; after which the Enemies to the Constitution, will have no Advantage of it, by the Misrepresentations of that, or other Historians. For we have no great Reason to fear, that the Once renown'd History of the Grand Rebellion will not in a very few Years, be in as fair a Way to Oblivion as Mr. Echard's Histories, which are hardly now at any Time mention'd. Mr. Echard seems to affect Distinction, by being almost always opposite to the Truth, in Fact and Characters. I have taken Notice in this Treatise of the Flattery he bestows on one of the Worst Parliaments that ever sat in St. Stephen's Chappel, that in King James II. Reign, whom he characterizes as compos'd of the Richest and Wisest Men in England, which is very Reverse of their Character: For we read in the Bishop of Salisbury's History of that Reign, They were neither Men of Parts nor Estates; and again, In all England, it would not have been easy to have found 500 Men so weak and so poor. To be so particular in the Praise

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Praise of a numerous Assembly, and not to have the least Foundation for it in Fact and Truth; discovers a strange Deficiency both in Integrity and Judgment; but that Representative were for arbitrary Power and Persecution, and such Men never fail of Encomiums in the History of the Rebellion, and the Archdeacon's History. As to the History of the Rebellion, we must hereafter speak with great Tenderness of the Earl of Clarendon's Share in it. For we do not know how unmerciful the Christ-Church Men were to his Memory, in the various Alterations they made to that History. But that it was very much alter'd and mangled at Oxford, and past afterwards under another strict Review at London, is what I now can prove by much better Evidence than serv'd to take off the most noble Sufferers in the four Reigns before-mention'd. This Discovery I refer to the next Edition of Clarendon and Whitlock compar'd, which may be publish'd in a Month or two.

The Bishop of Salisbury shews us why it was that Mr. Echard is so profuse of his Incense to King James's Parliament, so poor and so devoted to the Court, to a popish King, and to a bigotted corrupt Ministry, who had done nothing to engage him to sacrifice the Truth of History to their Characters, but their sacrificing the Spiritual and Temporal Rights

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Rights and Liberties of the People to the Royal Will and Pleasure. There is no Instance like it in all the Histories I have met with. The Wisest and Richest Men, so directly contrary to Fact, that the Bishop is not content to expose this Misrepresentation in one Passage but confirms it by a like just Remark in another, which of it self is, methinks, sufficient to give one a just Idea of the Arch-deacon's Historical Merit.



N. B.

THE
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PART I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Use of History.

THERE has scarce any *History* appear'd in the World, but it has been introduc'd with some elaborate Discourse on the Use of *History*, which however has had very little Effect on the Minds of the Readers: They are generally of Opinion, that it is of no other Use than to amuse and divert them; which false Judgment is founded in Laziness and Ignorance.

Some will not apply themselves sufficiently to make proper Reflections on Persons and Things, and by Comparison turn them to their own Pro-

fit ; and others have not Capacity to do it, were they so dispos'd.

They read a *History* or *Novel* with the same Intent, to pass away the Time ; and what they read dies upon their Memory, like insipid Meats upon the Palate, without either Relish or Nourishment.

The Cry is, What is it to us how Emperors and Kings, Consuls and Generals behav'd themselves ? What to us, the Stratagems of War, and the Arts of Government ? What can we learn from the *History* of *Alexander*, or the Life of *Cæsar* ? 'Tis enough for us to mind our Business, and take Care of our Selves and Families. Are we like to be Emperors and Kings, Consuls and Generals ?

Such as make these Objections, will probably never meet with an Answer to them, thinking it Time lost to enquire further about it. But others will consider, that the Frame of Men's Minds is much the same, let their Condition be what it will. The Passions, Virtues and Vices, operate alike in all, though upon different Objects. Ambition, Interest, Revenge and Lust, commit the same Ravages in the Minds of Men ; and the ruinous Consequences of gratifying them, are Lessons in low Life, as well as the high. Virtue, Wisdom, Humanity and Goodness, accompany'd with Power, have a Lustre which charms all that behold them, and invites them to imitate what they so much admire. Example certainly makes stronger Impressions than Precept : And the Profit the Reader may acquire by reading good *History*, will have quicker and surer Effects, than cold lifeless Lectures, and formal trifling Declamations. It will enlarge his Soul, inspire him with generous Sentiments, make him in Love with Justice, Moderation, and Clemency, and
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give him an Abhorrence of Tyranny, Cruelty and Oppression. He will learn to despise every Thing base and mean, and qualify himself for the Duties of a good Subject, and good Citizen. He will be taught Wisdom by the *surest Ways*, as a great modern Author phrases it; *For History sets before us what we ought to shun, or to pursue, by the Examples of the most famous Men whom it records, and by the Experience of their Faults.*

Of such Use is History to Mankind in General; and to *Englishmen* in Particular: it is still much more useful, as it informs them of the Antiquity and Strength of our Constitution, lays open the Foundations of our Liberty, and shews them how it has been preserv'd from *the first of Times* to our own, against the Assaults of Power and Priestcraft; and how it has been frequently and miraculously sav'd, when it was on the very brink of Ruin.

The *English* Reader will observe, that all the Assertions of the Divine Right of *Hereditary Succession*, are false and groundless: That those *Churchmen* who have preach'd it, have been either Knaves or Fools. If they knew the Constitution of their Country, and the Practice of their Ancestors, they were Knaves, and spoke against their Consciences. If they did not know them, they were Fools for wading beyond their Depth; or rather blind Guides, who brought those they led into the same Danger with themselves. That such Guides were, and are still blind for the most part, is indeed too true. How can it be otherwise? Wisdom and Learning are not the Portion of the Multitude; and as such Doctrine has been the Way to Preferment, ever since Archbishop *Laud's* Ministry, 'tis no wonder the inferior Clergy make Use of their only Method of Rising. Without Learning, Judgment, and Wisdom, 'tis impossi-

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ble to deserve Distinction: And a Man of no Merit may have much *false* Zeal, which does the Business better than the *true*. Thus it is, that the Pulpit and the Press have been employ'd to contradict plain Fact, and common Sense; and no Regard has been had by these Men, to the Strength of Reason, or Truth of History.

As to Argument, I have nothing now to do with it, and the Topick is become stale. But as to *History*, we shall shew what Advantage an *English* Reader may get by looking into that of *England*.

C H A P. II.

Of General and Particular History.

THE Use of History in General, being allow'd by the Wise and Learned in all Times, and all Nations, there needs no other Argument to prove it. But *Particular* Histories are doubtless more useful than *General* ones, in as much as they let the Reader into the Detail of the Events which have happen'd to a particular Nation, and he becomes thereby better acquainted with the Laws and Customs of a Country, with the Virtues, Vices and Characters of its Governors. His Reflections will be the more useful, as the Application is the more easy.

However, 'tis necessary to know, how the Affairs of one Nation have Dependance on those of another; and what has happen'd in the Succession of Ages, in the several Quarters of the World. This is the Work of *General* History, which, with respect to *Particular*, is the same as a general Map, and a particular one. In a particular

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cular Map, you see a Kingdom, or Province, divided into its several Precincts within it self: In a general Map, you learn to place those Parts, as they have respect to the Whole, and as they are a Part of the Globe. The last general History, and the shortest of the Kind that ever appear'd, was the Bishop of Meaux's *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*. His Introduction, which I shall translate, will save me some Labour in considering this Subject.

“ If *History* were of no Use to other Men,
 “ *says that eminent Prelate*, it should be read by
 “ Princes. There is no better way of discovering
 “ what the Passions and Interests of Men, what
 “ Times and Conjunctions, what good and bad
 “ Counsels may produce. Histories are compos'd
 “ only of the Actions about which they are em-
 “ ploy'd, and seem to be made chiefly for their
 “ Instruction. If Experience is necessary to ac-
 “ quire that Prudence which will make them
 “ reign well, there is nothing more necessary to-
 “ wards acquiring it, than to joyn the Examples
 “ of past Ages, with the Experiences of their
 “ own; instead of learning to judge of the dan-
 “ gerous Affairs which befall them, at the Ex-
 “ pence of their Glory, by the Help of History
 “ they form that Judgment on past Events, with-
 “ out putting any Thing to Hazard. When they
 “ see the most hidden Vices of Princes, notwith-
 “ standing the false Praises that were lavished on
 “ them when living, expos'd to the Eyes of all
 “ Men, they are asham'd of the vain Joy that is
 “ occasion'd by Flattery, and are convinc'd that
 “ true Glory can only be the Effect of true Me-
 “ rit. Further, it would be a shameful Thing, I
 “ will not say for Princes only, but for every
 “ Gentleman, not to have a due Knowledge of
 “ Man-

“ Mankind, and the memorable Changes that
 “ have happen’d in the World in the Series of
 “ Times. If we did not learn from History to
 “ distinguish those Times, Men would be repre-
 “ sented under the Law of Nature, the same as
 “ they are under the Gospel: We should talk of
 “ the *Persians* conquer’d by *Alexander*, as of those
 “ Victorious *Persians* under *Cyrus*. *Greece* would
 “ be made as free in the Time of *Philip*, as in
 “ that of *Themistocles*; the *Roman* People as
 “ Victorious under the Emperors, as under the
 “ Consuls; and the Christian Church in as peace-
 “ ful a Condition under *Dioclesian*, as under *Con-*
 “ *stantine*.” He closes this with a Piece of Flattery,
 more gross than any himself has condemn’d in *Histo-*
rians. “ And we should speak of *France*, during
 “ the Miseries of the Civil Wars, in the Reigns
 “ of *Charles* the IXth, and *Henry* the IIIrd, as
 “ of *France*, now united under so great a Mo-
 “ narch, when she alone triumphs over all *Europe*.
 “ To avoid these Inconveniencies, My Lord,
 “ continues *Monsieur de Meaux*, addressing to the
 “ Dauphin, you have read over so many Antient
 “ and Modern Histories, &c.

The Bishop’s *Universal* one, is indeed too short,
 and the Knowledge to be acquir’d by it, would
 be no more than may be learn’d in a Dream. But
 there are other more copious *General Histories*, by
 which the Reader may conceive as good an *Idea*
 of Events in the Series of Times, as he can of
 the Globe, from a Map of it.

There is no better than our *Dr. Howell’s*: He
 was a Man of indefatigable Labour, and great
 Learning. His Work is not so much a General
 History of the World, as Collections of Histo-
 ries of all Nations, translated from their Authors
 Ancient and Modern: So perfect a Translation,
 that

that the very Manner of the Originals is preserv'd in his Copy.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* is now in a great measure laid aside, there being no Comparison between him and *Howell*: The latter, besides his more modern Language, has all other Historical Advantages. The Abridgment of *Raleigh*, and the Continuation of his History of the World, in Four Volumes *Octavo*, will serve such well enough, as have not much Leisure or Inclination to go deeper into this Matter, and there is no need of others.

But if a Man is dispos'd to sacrifice his whole Life, of Three or Fourscore Years, to this Study, he may in *Degory Wheare* find a Catalogue of General and Particular Historians, which will at once effectually employ and confound him.

Wheare's Attempt shews us the Vanity of Learning without Judgment; and I'll engage, whoever follows his Advice, shall tire before he reaches half his Journey.

By Learning here, I mean such Sort of Knowledge as is generally acquir'd in a College, where the least Genius's are commonly most laborious, and devour much, without troubling themselves about Digestion. A great deal of Reading makes Scholarship, and indeed the greatest Part of the Merit of some boasted Names. I am too well acquainted with Books, not to have discover'd some of their Secrets; and that many of them dip no deeper for their Learning, than *Indexes*, *Common Places*, *Citations*, &c. for which they deserve more Praise than such as waste their Lives in a Confusion of Study, without being of any real Use to themselves or the World. I cou'd not avoid this Digression once for all, to prevent the Reader's mistaking Labour for Genius, and Pedantry for Literature.

There's a notable Argument in *Degory Wheare's* Book, about History. *Quintilian* and *Vossius*, Two of the most eminent Criticks in the Learned World, are of Opinion, that young Gentlemen, and Persons of their Level, as to Capacity, may read History with Profit, as well as Pleasure. But *Degory Wheare* supports the Judgment of certain Outlandish Criticks, *Keckerman*, *Ubertus Folietta*, *Sebastianus Foxius*, *Viperanus*, &c. who assert, that *No Man should attempt to read History, before he understands the Method of Moral Oeconomick and Politick Precepts*; that is, in *English*, before he is Master of the Rules for Manners, Behaviour, and the Regulation of Mens Actions, before he understands the Management of the Passions, and the Art of Government; all which these Reverend Tutors pretend to teach for so much *per Annum*; this is the Quackery of it. The Profound Science consists in a nice Observation, that a Man of great Learning and Parts shall benefit more by Reading, than a Youth, or one of common Capacity. But it does not therefore follow, that one of common Capacity, or a Youth, shall get nothing by it. If only such Readers, as those *Literati* pretend, were qualify'd to read History, which is not one in Fifty Thousand, of what Use wou'd *Degory Wheare's* long List of Historians be? *Vossius* gives a very good Reason why others should apply themselves to the Reading of History, with hopes of Benefit: *For it is very well known*, says he, *that Languages may be very well learned without Grammar Rules*, and there is no Science subsisting, which was not in Being before the Rules for it were form'd. Contrary to which, *Keckerman* and *Wheare* aver, that though Languages may be learn'd *without Rules and Precepts*, yet it is impossible to *adorn Speech, and make an Oration with-*

without them; consequently to understand and improve by History; for if it has not that Consequence, it has none: And indeed, it is shamefully false in History, as well as Argument. Where were the Grammar Rules when, I will not say *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, &c. wrote, but when *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Tyrtæus*, &c. Five Hundred Years after?—There would be no End of it, if one shou'd go about to extend this Argument farther, and into other Sciences. Do not *Grammar*, *Rhetorick*, and even *Logick*, naturally exist now in the Speeches and Arguments of Persons, who know nothing of Precepts and Rules, which were invented for the Ease and Perfection of Science? These Men might as well tell us, that no Man can learn *Navigation*, who is not Master of every Branch of the *Mathematicks*. This Digression has, I am afraid, surfeited the Reader with *Degory Wheare*, so I shall soon dispatch him.

His tedious Method for a short Way to know History, puts me in mind of a certain Curate, who lying under some Suspicion of Incontinence, had the ill Luck to pitch upon that edifying Text, *Consider your Ways, because the Days are evil*. His first Division was, *to consider what it is to consider*; and having subdivided it into many as considerable Articles, he was forc'd to leave his Parish by Conviction, before he came to *the Evil of the Days*.

In *Wheare*, we read what it is to read *History*, in twice as many Pages as the Bishop of *Meaux's* *L'Histoire Universelle* contains, and are directed to at least 400 Historians; a Method which pins a Man down for Life, and would render him entirely useless to himself or the World. *Popeliniere*, a *Frenchman*, wrote a Book, call'd *L'Histoire des Histoires*; and by the Study of *Wheare* and him, the Reader may indeed know something

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thing of Histories, but very little of History, and shall lose both his Time and Understanding.

Several Authors have begun the particular Histories of their own Countries with the *General History* of the World; and this, when it is clear as well as concise, is of good Use, and connects the Particular History with the General; otherwise 'tis like a huge Porch to a small Hovel.

Mariana's History of Spain is exemplaril methodical.

The fabulous History.

The History of Greece.

The Roman Empire.

The Republick of Carthage, the best of its Kind.

The Siege of Seguntia and Numantia.

Hannibal's passing the Alps.

The Succession of Roman Emperors.

The Birth of Christianity.

The Preaching of the Gospel.

The Conquest of the Arabians, &c.

The History of Spain.

Here's a Plan form'd, as shou'd be always done in writing *History*, and pursu'd to the End with as much Disposition and *Ordonnance* as in an *Epic Poem*. The Historian follows the same successive Facts, and the Course of Events, with the same Exactness as the Poet does the Series of Incidents; the latter to produce the like Profit by Fiction, as the former does by Truth; and both to regulate the Passions by Example.

I question whether any modern Historian ever thought of more than pleasing the Prince or Party for whom he wrote, or began his Work with any other View than his own Entertainment, and sometimes Profit. Those that are put upon it by the Gain, are the most useless and worth-

worthless Writers, and the Histories they produce, seldom survive them. It must be confess'd, they are commonly good enough for the Use they are put to, to while away idle Hours, and fill up the Vacancies of Life, instead of Cards or Sauntering.

Nothing in the World wou'd divert one more, than the Sight of the Plan on which the Writers of the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* founded their History. Three Poets were employ'd, *Pelisson*, *Racine*, and *Boileau*, who were to keep always in View the *Sun*, and the *Immortal Man*, the Device and Title of *Louis le Grand*, to compliment him upon his Ingratitude and Treachery, with respect to the *Hugonots* his Subjects, his Acts of Fraud and Violence to the Princes of *Germany*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the King of *Spain*, the Sovereign of the *Netherlands*, the States of *Holland*, the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Swiss Cantons*, &c. to set off his buying and surprising Towns, and over-running Provinces in Time of profound Peace, as so many Victories worthy so many *Roman Triumphs*, and his Chambers of *Re-union* in his pretended *New Conquests*, as so many glorious Acquisitions to his Crown. With these Materials, and a Pension of 12000 Livres a Year apiece, besides other Appointments, they began the Work at the same Time that *Vittorio Siri* was hiring himself out as a History Writer to the highest Bidder; which made his Countrymen the *Italians* say of him, *Non da Istorico, ma da Salario*; not according to the *History*, but the *Salary*. How were these *French* Historians able to go on with their Plan after the Battels of *Hochstet*, *Turin*, *Ramelles*, &c? After the *French* were driven out of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*; after the King trembled at *Versailles* for his Person, and talk'd of removing his Court farther?

This

This Digression upon the History of *Lewis XIV*, is not so very foreign to my Purpose as may be at first imagin'd, and as will appear when we come to speak of our late Historians in *England*.

When I began these Reflections, it was with a Design to promote the reading of History among *Englishmen*; and to put such as never thought of it before, in the way to receive Instruction by it. The Advantage which will arise to an *Englishman* by reading general History, will be by comparing the Happiness of our Constitution with the Misery of those of other Nations. This will make him still more in Love with *Liberty*, and more tenacious in preserving it. He will learn by the Madness and Folly of other People, to avoid whatever tends to its Destruction; and have an Eye on those in whose Power it is to betray it, as has been done in our own Times in *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

France was once as happy as we are, if *Mezeray*, one of the best Historians among the Moderns, knew the History of his own Country.

Mr. *John Hampden*, Father of Mr. *Hampden*, an eminent Member of Parliament, now living, being in *France*, became acquainted with Monsieur *de Mezeray*, and said of him, that he was very ill us'd by the Ministry there, for his great Worth and Merit. Mr. *Hampden* discoursing with him about the Difference of the Government in *France* and *England*, *Mezeray* broke out into this Expression: *O fortunatos nimium bona si sua norint, Angligenas.* " We had once in *France*,
 " continu'd he, the same Happiness and the same
 " Privileges as you have; our Laws were made
 " by Representatives of our own chusing; our
 " Money was not taken from us but by our own
 " Consent; our Kings were subject to the Rules
 " of

“ of Law and Reason : But now, alas ! we are
 “ miserable, and all is lost. Think nothing, Sir,
 “ too dear to maintain these precious Advan-
 “ tages ; and if ever there be Occasion, venture
 “ your Life, your Estate, and all you have, ra-
 “ ther than submit to the miserable Condition to
 “ which you see us reduc’d.” *These Words of*
his, says Mr. Hampden, with what I saw of the
Misery of that Country, made an Impression on me,
which nothing can efface.

Mezeray has here, from that Gentleman’s In-
 formation, given us a slight Sketch of our Go-
 vernment : Our Laws are made in Parliament ;
 our Money given only by our Representatives ;
 our Kings are subject to those Laws. If they are
 broken, and the Constitution subverted, we, as
 the *French* Historian advis’d Mr. *Hampden*, ought
 to venture our *Lives, Estates*, and all we have,
 rather than submit to the Slavery to which *Lewis*
XIV. reduc’d his wretched Subjects.

Whenever the *English* Reader hears contrary
 Doctrine in the Pulpit, or reads it in Speeches,
 Addresses, &c. he will immediately put a Mark
 on the Broachers of it, as Traytors to the Laws
 and Liberties of *England*. When your *Sibthorps*
 shall assert in their Sermons, That the King may
 impose Taxes without Consent of Parliament ;
 when your *Manwarings* add to this, That Loans
 and Taxes impos’d by the King without such Con-
 sent, oblige the Subjects Consciences upon Pain
 of Eternal Damnation ; he will abhor such Te-
 nets, and such Preachers, as base and mercenary
 Flatterers. If another *Oxford* Decree, like that
 of 1683. should declare, That the asserting Re-
 sistance in Cases of *extreme Necessity*, is *false, se-*
ditionous, heretical, and blasphemous ; and that *Passive*
Obedience is as much an Article of our Reli-
 gion, as the *Apostles* Creed ; he will know by Hi-
 story,

story, that such Assertions are equally false, wicked, and dangerous; and detest the Authors of them, as Enemies to the Commonwealth. Of this we shall say more, when we treat of the History of *England* in particular.

I shall not fall into the Vice I have censur'd in others, and load the Reader with a greater Burthen than is necessary. *Howell's* History, as far as he goes, will serve for all the Nations of *Europe*. But if his Curiosity is of greater Extent than *General History*; and he wou'd enter into the particular Histories of every Kingdom and State, let him for *France* go through *Mezeray*; for *Spain*, through *Mariana*; for *Holland*, let him read *Hugo Grotius*; *Buchanan* and *Sir Richard Cox* will serve him for *Scotland* and *Ireland*: And if he will launch still farther into the boundless Ocean of *History*, let him have recourse to *Degory Wheare*, with *Dodwell's* Preface, which is however a very mean Performance; *Wheare* being his best Pilot for so long a Voyage, especially if he will take the Pains to correct and improve him by the Learned Bishop *Nicholson's* English, Scots, and Irish *Historical Libraries*.

Something must now be said of *Chronology* and *Geography*, which, as Mr. *Locke* says, are absolutely necessary to the reading of *History*; and I am satisfy'd, no *Englishman* will need any other *Chronology* than Mr. *Tallent's*, whose Tables are the most extensive, as well as exact; nor any other *Geography* than *Atlas Geographus*, which, tho' collected with little Judgment, and written with great Poverty of Stile, yet having in it a Collection of all *Geographers*, Ancient and Modern, the Reader in those Tables, and Three or Four Volumes of the *Atlas*, will have as full a *Chronology* and Description of the World, as is requisite for him; and perhaps conceive a better

ter Idea of both, than if he turn'd over whatever has been publish'd in all Languages upon those Subjects.

C H A P. III.

Of the History of the Britains.

THE best Historians that ever wrote, have their *Fable* to introduce them. The Noble Critick *Varro* observes, there are Two Periods of *History* before we come to that which is reckon'd truly *Historical*.

The First is the *Obscure Period* from the *Creation* of the World to the *Deluge*, *Noah's* or *Ogyges's*. For 'tis certain, the Heathens had a Notion of the *Universal Deluge*; which the *Chinese* so particularly remember in their *Histories*, that among the great Actions of their mighty Emperor *Tu*, they mention his draining the *Waters* of the *Deluge* for 5 or 600 Miles together, 200 Years after the Flood. See *Pere Magailan's History of China*.

The next Period is the *mystick* or fabulous History, which is met with only in the ancient Poets; and tho' I cannot go so far as *Degory Wheare*, to call *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, *Ovid's Chronicle*, Sect. 11. yet no doubt there is much Truth mingled with Fiction in the Accounts of the *Trojan War*, the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, the Stories of *Perseus*, *Oedipus*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, &c. This Period lasts to the Beginning of the *Olympiads*, 400 Years after the taking of *Troy*, *Anno Mundi* 3174. And from the *Olympiads* the
Anci-

Ancients began to speak of *History* with more Probability, tho' not without supposing a great Mixture of Fable.

Ar. Mun.
1900.

Our Obscure History begins with *Samothres*; from him it is continued to *Albion*; and from him to *Phrynicus*, when *Brutus*, Grandson of *Æneas*, is suppos'd to enter this Island. This obscure Period takes up almost 1000 Years; and the Succession of Kings is by *Sammes* mark'd as exactly, as if it had been *Apostolical*; tho' not one Word of it is truer than the Fables of *Æsop*.

With the Story of *Brutus* commences our *Fable* about 120 Years after the taking of *Troy*, and 300 Years before the first *Olympiad*, at a Time when all the Histories of the World were fabulous; and 'tis no Disgrace to *Great Britain*, that her Story is no better known than was that of *Greece*; for a long Time after *Varro's* Historical Period, the Fable continu'd to make the greatest Part of History. There was no Certainty, even in the *Olympiads*. *Plutarch*, in *Homer's* Life, begins them 100 Years after *Troy*; and in his Lives of *Numa*, *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*, tells us the Differences about them are irreconcilable. *Pausanias* says the same. *Thucydides* would not use them; and *Plato* makes a Jest of *Hippias*, who first counted by them; which I take Notice of, to shew, that the rest of the World is little better provided than *Great Britain* with respect to History, from the pretended Entrance of *Brute*, A. M. 2887, to about the Year 3240, at which Time *Herodotus*, the Father of History, began his own. All Nations were till then in the Dark, and can no more depend upon their Historians, than we can on our *Nennius*, or *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*. To this we may add, in Favour of *Jeffrey*, that Foreigners themselves have confirm'd his Story, and founded their Antiquity upon it, as a surer Foundation

2887.

dation than their own. *Du Verdier Historiographe du Roy*, in his *Voyage de France*, written about 80 Years ago, informs us, that the City of *Tours* was built by *Turinus*, one of *Brutus's* Followers, in his Expedition to *Britain*.

The Historians, in the barbarous Ages, were all fond of deriving their Origin from some Hero or Heroine, who gave his or her Name to the Country. Thus from *Brute* comes *Britain*; *France* from *Francus*, Son of *Hector*; *Scotland* from *Scota*, *Pharoah's* Daughter; *Denmark* from *Dan*; *Norway* from one *Norus*. All which betray the Imposture even in the very Name.

Tho' we doubt not the whole Story of *Brute* and his Posterity is invented; yet, as in all good Fables there is a Moral, so in this the Events are as much Lessons as if they were true. What is said to have been done, if good, ought to have been done, or it had not been there; and, on the contrary, what is bad, to be avoided.

We may there see what Notions the ancient *Britains* had of the Rights of Prince and People, by the Actions which are attributed to them. *Locrine*, Son of *Brute*, meets with so great Resistance from the *Cornish* Men, that he is vanquish'd and slain by them, for intending to set aside his Son *Madan*, whose Son *Mempricius* was depos'd by his Brother *Manlius*. *Ferrex*, the Elder Brother, is forc'd to give way to *Porrex* the Younger; which, says *Sammes*, is the Third Time that the Kingdom fell not to the Elder. This was

about the Year 3420. Two Hundred and Sixty Years after, *Archigallo* was set aside for his Male-Administration, much like that of King *James* the 11d. "For, in the Words of my Author, he endeavour'd to depress the Nobility, by depriving them of all Power; to which Purpose he contrived Plots, and then discover'd them; C "ha-

An. Munn.
3420.

“ having his Engines secretly employ’d, who at
 “ any Time would accuse whom they pleas’d of
 “ Disaffection to the present Government. Many
 An. Mun. 3688. “ other Things he committed, as the advancing
 “ unworthy Persons to Dignities and Offices, and
 “ the spoiling and robbing his richest Subjects.
 “ For all which he was depos’d, as was *Elidurus*,
 “ his Successor and Brother.” *Emerianus, Son of*
Archigallo, governing, says Sammes, according to
Will and Pleasure, and not according to Law,
 was laid aside. So were *Androgeus* and *Theo-*
mantius, Sons of Lud, and Nephews to Cassibe-
lan, who reign’d when Julius Cæsar invaded this
 3897. *Island, A. M. 3897.*

How the *Divine Right of Succession* obtain’d
 at this Time, one can hardly determine, or so
 much as whether the Monarchies of *Britain* were
Elective or *Hereditary*. *Kent* alone had Four
 Kings, whose Names are remember’d by *Cæsar*,
 tho’ *Cassibelan* was superior to them, at least du-
 ring the War with the *Romans*.

The *Britains* set aside *Androgeus*, purely on
 account of his being in the Interest of the In-
 vaders. But to leave the History of such dark
 Times, let us come to the last King of *Britain*
 before the *Saxon Invasion, Vortigern*: Was he not
 depos’d by his Subjects for Male-Administration,
 and his Son *Vortimer* put in his Place? And what
 Blame could be laid to his Charge, says *Sammes*,
 for accepting the Crown? The Truth is, the Form
 of the *British* Government was in a great Measure
 Democratical, as *Xiphilin* observes out of *Dion*
Cassius, in his Life of *Severus*.

An. Dom. 645. *Vortigern* outlived his Son, and recover’d the
 Kingdom, but was not at all mended by his Pu-
 nishment: So the *Britains* held a *Concilium*, *A. D.*
 465, and he was again depos’d, to make way for
 the brave *Aurelius Ambrosius*. *Matt. Westm.* says,
 Cod-

Convenerunt Britones undique dispersi, & convocato Regni Clero, Aurelium in Regem erexerunt. The Clergy gave their Votes in this Council; and the Body of them were generally in the publick Interest, till Riches and Power corrupted them, and made them set up an Interest of their own, separate from that of the Publick.

Mr. *Echard* takes not the least Notice of the deposing of *Vortigern*: The Parliamentary Right has been too much vilify'd by Men of a certain Profession, for him to speak in Confirmation of it. So he flurs over that solemn Act, and says, *Vortimer, a Brave and Valiant Prince, undertook to fight for his Country.*

The Reader will do well to begin with *Tyrrel's* Preface to his First Volume. That Gentleman was at great Expence of Time and Money to collect Materials for his Design; and there's Matter enough, were it digested as it might be. He understood our History and Constitution perfectly well, as a Man of Learning and Honour; and his Preface will prepare the *English* Reader to receive Instruction, as well as Pleasure, by our History.

I might recommend to him a great Number of Authors for this Period, but these few will be sufficient.

Tyrrel's Preface and History.

Cambden's Introduction to his Britannia.

Sammes's Britannia.

C H A P. IV.

Of the History of the Saxons in Britain.

BEFORE the *English* Reader proceeds farther, let him enquire into the Origin of the *Saxons*, who possess'd themselves of the Dominion of this Island from *Edinburgh* to the Land's End in *Cornwall*. He will be fully inform'd of their Religion, Manners, and Government in *Speed* and *Howell*; and afterwards with greater Pleasure see the Progress they made in acquiring that Dominion first in the *Saxon Hierarchy*, and then in the *English Monarchy*. *Tacitus* gives us some Light as to the Nature of the *Saxon* Government, speaking thus of the *Germani*, of whom the *Saxons* were a Part. *De minoribus rebus Principes consultant, de majoribus omnes; ita tamen ut ea quoque quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud Principes prætrahantur. Res minores exponunt causas privatas & ad forum pertinentes, majores publicas. In celebrandis hisce Conciliis, &c.* *Tacitus* names the very Term Councils, as the *Saxon* Writers do; which the *Normans* chang'd for a Term of their own, that of *Parliament*. I leave Six of the Seven Kingdoms founded by the *Saxons*, to the Reader's own Enquiry, and take a short View of the *West Saxon* Kingdom, which in Time swallowed up all the rest.

990.

About Eighty Years after the founding of that Monarchy, *Ceaulin* descended from the Founder *Cerdick*, was, for many Enormities, driven out of his Kingdom; and though he left Two Grandchildren by his Son *Cutbwin*, yet his Nephew *Cearlick* was advanc'd to the Throne.

Seve-

Several other Interruptions happen'd in the Lineal Succession, before the Reign of King Egbert: as that of Sigebert, a Prince of much the same Make with another, whose Quarrel has been so strenuously espous'd by the Inferior Clergy and their Admirers in our own Times. "He was, says Sammes, an insolent Tyrant at Home, bold and daring in Wickedness; but in the Field soft and cowardly: Advised of his Mis-carriages by Cumbra, one of his chief Captains and best Counsellors, in Recompence for his good Will, he barbarously slew him; but was not long after driven out of his Kingdom by Consent of the People and Nobility." Henry of Huntington tells us, That Sigebert, for his Pride and Wickedness, was depos'd, and Kinewulf elected by a Convention. *Congregati sunt Proceres, & Populus totius Regni, & Provida Deliberatione & unanimi Consensu omnium expulsus est à Regno: Kinewelfe vero juvenis egregius de Regia stirpe oriundus, electus est in Regem.*

794.

So full is the Saxon History of Instances of such Interruptions, that the English Reader must be wonderfully surpriz'd to find either Preachers or Writers against the Doctrine of the Revolution; yet often do they assert the most daring Fals-hoods, in Opposition to the most plain and frequent Facts.

The Saxon Annals, A. D. 925, tell us, Athelstan was electus in Regem & apud Cingestune consecratus. The same Term, Electus, is often us'd in the Succession at that Time, tho' particular Regard was had to the Line. Mr. Echard, speaking of Athelstan, endeavours to invalidate this Claim, by telling us, his Father design'd him his Successor by his last Will, notwithstanding his Illegitimacy.

925.

960.

Tyrrel, in the Preface before-mention'd, when he comes to the Reign of King *Edgar*, has these Words: *There being not above Two Kings in all this long Series of more than 260 Years, concerning whom I have not brought express Testimonies from Authors of undoubted Credit, both in Print and Manuscripts, of this Election by the States of the Kingdom.* Mr. *Echard* sinks all the Alterations which had happen'd in the *Lineal Succession*, either in the *Saxon Heptarchy*, or *English Monarchy*; a most ungrateful Subject! The honest *English* Reader has the greater Loss in this, because these Alterations are so frequent, and so consequently is the Instruction he would get by it, to confirm him in his *English* Principles, which is worth all the rest of our Ecclesiastical or Civil History.

Nor was it thus in *England* only: He will find the same Revolutions in the Histories of *France* and *Spain*. *Childeric* was depos'd by the Assembly of the States in *France*, and *Pepin* elected. *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* was set aside, and *Hugh Capet* chosen. *Don Pedro*, King of *Castile*, notwithstanding the generous Assistance which the *Black Prince* gave him, was forced to yield the Throne to his Bastard Brother. The same Fate beset *Alphonso*, King of *Portugal*. *Christiern*, King of *Denmark*, for Tyranny, and *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, for Bigottry, lost the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. *Buchanan's* History of *Scotland* is more nearly related to us; and the Reader will meet with a Cloud of Witnesses in a Multitude of Instances, to prove that the *Lineal Succession* does not justify Right, where the Laws and Liberties of the People are invaded, and endeavour'd to be subverted; that is, in Case of extreme Necessity; and then Nature will surely rebel against Principle for Self-Preservation, if there can

can be any Principle founded in Treachery and Cruelty.

Indeed, it cannot be deny'd but the *Gotbick* Governments were all Free, and that their Kings were bound to govern according to their Laws. Most of the *European* Nations, as well as the *French*, were once Masters of the same Freedom we enjoy. The great Swarms of People that came out of the *North*, over-ran the *Roman* Empire, and settled themselves in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *France*, and *England*, and made their Generals their Kings, and their Chief Officers their *Concilia Magna*, or Parliaments, without whose Consent no Laws were Enacted, or scarce any Thing of Importance done. And we find, both by *Bede* and *Verstegan*, that the *Saxon* Government was rather *Aristocratical* than *Monarchical*. 'Tis true, their Chief Governors were call'd *Konings*, Kings, and the very Term shews they were preferr'd for their Wisdom, *Koning* signifying Wise, and having no manner of Relation to Primogeniture.

Mr. *Tyrrel* gives us the Form of the *West Saxon* Kings Oath, and the Contents of the *Original Contract* between them and their Subjects. *They would maintain the Holy Christian Faith with all their Power, and govern according to Right, without regard to any Person, and would be liable to suffer Right, [i. e. Judgment,] as well as others of their People.*

No Nation has preserv'd their *Gotbick* Constitution better than the *English*, who cannot consider the Happiness they enjoy, in Comparison with those that have lost it, without having a just Veneration for the Memory of their noble Ancestors, who, at the Expence of their best Blood, have secur'd to them such valuable Rights: And though for Four Reigns together, bold Attempts

were made by Court and Church Flatterers and Creatures to destroy them, and root out the generous Spirit which had hitherto been their Guard, yet our Age was not so degenerated, but the same Zeal appear'd at the Revolution, to transmit them to Posterity.

Some of the Disaffected, who have a little more Honesty and Knowledge than the rest, will grant that the *Gothick* Monarchies were of the Kind we speak of; but then their Model of Government was not the same as now, by King, Lords, and Commons, and, of Consequence, the *Parliament* hold their Immunities of the Crown only. I shall therefore endeavour to prove, that our Parliamentary Constitution is as old as the *Saxons*, and much the same at present. The honest *English* Reader will often meet with the like Assemblies, in the Period between the *Saxon* and *Norman* Invasions, though under the Names of *Wittena-gemots*, *Mychelgemots*, *Conciliums*, *Colloquiums*, &c. and even the very Word *Parliament* is us'd by *John Brompton*, Abbot of *Jorval*, whose Chronicle ends Fifty Years before the 49th of *Henry* the III^d; till when *Brady* assures us, there was no such Thing as a Parliament in *England*.

The Reader will with great Satisfaction observe, in Mr. *Pettyt's Rights of the Commons*, and Mr. *Tyrrel's* learned and useful Preface, that *Brady* had bury'd himself in the musty Records of the *Tower*, and other Depositories, to produce only a Quibble at last, that till then there had been no *Parliament*; whereas there had been a Hundred Assemblies of Kings, Lords, and Bishops, Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, before and after the Conquest, under the Names of *Meetings of the Wise Men*, *Meetings of the Great Men*, *Councils*, *Colloquies*, &c.

The *Mirror of Justice*, a famous Law Book, written in *Edward* the First's Time, Ten or Fifteen Years after *Brady's* pretended First Parliament, says, the *Mychelgemot* ought to meet twice a Year. Now if their Being was of so late a Date as the 49th of *Henry III.* the Nation could not want Instruction in so little a Time, as to the Meetings of Parliament.

" 'Tis most manifest, says an Eminent Author,
" besides the positive Laws for Yearly Parli-
" ments, *inter Leges Edgari, Cap. 5.* that by the
" ancient Constitution of our Government, they
" did meet of Course, at least twice a Year.
" In the Reign of the *Saxon* Kings, it was made
" a perpetual Law, that a Parliament should be
" holden every Year once at *London*. And the
" same Law was incorporated into the Laws of
" *Edward the Confessor*.

The Estates of the Kingdom are thus describ'd in a good old Monkish Verse.

Prælati, Proceres, missisque Potentibus Urbes.
The Prelates, Peers, the Cities by their Powers.

If all this is not sufficient to satisfy the Reader concerning the Antiquity of Parliaments, the very Learned *Sir Henry Spelman* does it in direct Terms. *Wittenagemot idem apud Anglo-Saxones fuit, quod apud nos hodie Parliamentum.* The *Wittenagemot* was the same Thing among the Saxons, as the Parliament is now-a-Days with us.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Book *de Prærogativis Parliamentorum*, is of Opinion, there were no such Parliaments before *Henry* the First's Time; and that a Council call'd by him to raise Money, *Anno Regni 17*, was rather a Privy-Council than a Senate. But *Spelman* is against him, and says, they met *non consultare sed statuere.*

Dr.

Dr. Hody affirms, 'twas a *Parliament*, and that it did not meet in the 17th, but in the 10th Year of *Henry* the First, above One Hundred and Twenty Years before *Brady's* pretended Original of *Parliaments*.

Tyrrel mentions a Petition of the Borough of *Barnstable*, in the 17th of *Edward* the Third, to be restor'd to their Privileges, by Virtue of King *Atbelstan's* Charter, to send Members to Parliament. On the contrary, Mr. *Brown Willis* not only affirms that the Petition was to exonerate them of some Payments to their Lord, but gives a List of their Burgeffes in Parliament, from the 23d of *Edward* the First, to the 17th of *Edward* the Third, and onward. However, tho' that Petition had no Reference to their Representatives, and may therefore be omitted, yet we shall find there's no want of Proof of such like Assemblies, in the earlieft Times of the *Saxons*, with the like Immunities, as to the Legislative Power, as they are now in Possession of.

It has been said of Dr. *Brady*, that he read the Records, as *Witches* say their Prayers, backwards. That he makes them speak the quite contrary to what was intended, as will sufficiently appear in Mr. *Pettyt's* above-mention'd Treatise, Mr. *Tyrrel's* Preface, and Dr. *Hody's* of *Convocations and Councils*. *Brady* was a laborious *Cambridge* Man; and those that had writ of the History and Constitution of *England*, had made it out plain, that the Three last Reigns after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death, were both the most Inglorious and Illegal that had ever been in *England*, 'till the Fourth came.

Brady therefore had a Pension given him, to prove that the *English* Subjects were Slaves, 'till *Henry* the Third gave them a Parliament; and he confesses he was sorry they are not Slaves still.

Tyrrel's

Tyrrel's Preface. He had the keeping of the *Tower Records*, and became an unworthy Member of that House of Commons, whose Privileges he had so basely betray'd. But his Writings are already on the same Stalls with *Nelson's*, and incapable of doing the Mischief intended. I shall instance one Assertion of his, to excuse the Breach of *Coronation Oaths*. *Many Conquerors*, says he, *have broken their Oaths, and that without any Blame, provided they did not intend to keep them.* His History of *England* is the most tedious and trifling, the poorest in Style and Matter of any I ever read; and his Treatise of *Boroughs* is as dry and barren: But his Pension bias'd him entirely on the Side of *Arbitrary Power*, and made him sacrifice whatever Knowledge he had scrap'd up, to the *Will and Pleasure* of the Prince. The Reader will see in Mr. *Echard's* Margins, what a Guide he has been to him.

Though I have said so much of the Antiquity of our *Representatives*, yet to satisfy the Reader's Impatience, till he can come at the Histories, I shall add a few Lines more on that Subject.

Bede says, the Laws of King *Ethelbert* were made *cum Concilio Sapientum*, which is a *Wittena-gemot*; and in another Place, that the King *Populum suum convocavit*. By the People there, to use Dr. *Hody's* Words, must be understood not the Commonalty, in Opposition to the Great Men, but all in general, who were to be conven'd, Lords and Commons.

A. D.
570.

The Laws of *Berkhamstead* past, *cum viris utique Militaribus humanissime & communi omnium Assensu*.

697.

King *Ina's* Laws were enacted, *Omnium Senatorum meorum Consensu*. And again, *per commune consilium & assensum Omnium Episcoporum & Principum,*

712.

cipum, Procerum, Comitum, & Omnium Sapientum Seniorum & POPULORUM totius Regni. King *Ina's* Parliament consisted of the *Princes, Bishops, Nobles, Earls, Wisemen, Elders, and PEOPLE*; *sufficit hoc, says Spelman, ad modum exprimendum Omnium Conciliorum Anglo-Saxonum.* This suffices to shew what all *English Councils consisted of*; to which may be added what they did, for they consented to all Laws, and without their Consent nothing Legislative was done.

1007.

In the Year 1007, King *Ethelred* and his Senate, *communi Deliberatione*, made Peace with the *Danes*, as we read in *Hody*; and sure that is one of the highest Acts of Government, and proves they were not such impotent Assemblies as *Brady* and other Betrayers of their Rights and Privileges pretend.

A. D.
1020.

The History of *Ely* tells us, *Canute* was made King *ab omni Anglorum Populo*. My Lord Chief Justice *Coke* gives a Description of the Parliament at *Winchester*, held by that King, about the Year 1020: *Archbishops, Bishops, Suffragans, Seven Dukes, Seven Earls, Abbots, a great Number of Knights, with a vast Multitude of the People, &c. Omnibus tunc in eodem Parlamento personaliter existentibus, votis Regis unanimiter consentientibus præceptum & docretum fuit.* This is taken out of a Manuscript once belonging to the Monastery of *Bury*; and because the Word *Parliament* is there us'd, Dr. *Hody* takes it to be a pure Fiction, but his Reason for it makes still against Dr. *Brady*. He says, the Author liv'd One Hundred and Thirty Years after, *A. D. 1150*. Therefore, allowing the Fiction against the Authority of Lord *Coke*, the Constitution, and the very Word *Parliament*, were well known in the Reign of King *Stephen*, when *Hody* will have it the Monks of *Bury* forg'd the above Quotation.

For

For this Period of *English* History, the Reader may make Use of

Tyrrel's Preface and History.

Speed.

Howell.

Milton.

CHAP. V.

Of the History of England, from William the Norman, to the End of Edward the Third's Reign.

ONE would think the Advocates of *Arbitrary* Government, had a fair Opportunity to begin their *Æra* here, and found the Right of their Despotick Princes on Conquest, by the Advancement of *William the Bastard* to the Throne of *England*. But the Clergy of those Times were too much concern'd in the Liberties and Properties of *Englishmen*, to give them up so basely, as some of them have lately done in their Sermons and Histories. Particular Care was taken, after Duke *William* had routed King *Harold*, to quash all Pretensions to Conquest. 'Tis true, the *Normans* afterwards invaded our Laws as well as our Country, but not with like Success; and the *English* Constitution was then preserv'd against *French* Arms, though it was never in so much Danger, except in the Reigns which immediately follow'd Queen *Elizabeth*.

A. D.
1066.

Will. I.

Gul-

Gulielmus Gemmeticensis, who was contemporary with the Conqueror, tells us, he was ELECTED King *ab omnibus tam Normanorum, quam Anglorum. Gulielmus Pictaviensis, Ordericus Vitalis, &c.* who wrote at the same Time, speak of the same Thing; and he took an Oath at his Coronation, *Cunctum Populum sibi subiectum iuste & regali Providentiâ regere, rectam Legem statuere & tenere.*

In the Fourth Year of his Reign, the Laws of King Edward were confirm'd by him in Parliament. Mr. Selden uses the very Word on this Occasion, *Tit. Hon. p. 701.* But notwithstanding what the above-mention'd Authors, what Rudborn, and almost all that wrote of these Times, say of King William's Election, Mr. Echard, who is very loth to recognize any such Title, says, 'tis *very hard to determine it, and not very material.* But we hope the honest English Reader will not think this Matter so difficult, nor so trifling as he makes it.

A. D. 1077. In this Reign Hody speaks of a Parliament, Anno 1077, and of a Charter, in which were these Words, *Conventio Quorum videtur esse Parliamentum.* Brady, who owns he never saw this Charter, by Provinces would have Dioceses understood, lest the Antiquity of Shire-Knights should be demonstrated. He despises the Authority of William of Malmsbury, who wrote about Forty Years after, for the Account he gives of a Saxon Witenagemot, the same with Sir Henry Spelman's.

Will. II. 1087. The next Reign is a great Invasion on the Lineal Succession. Robert, Duke of Normandy, eldest Son to the Conqueror, is laid aside; and William Rufus, his Second Son, ELECTED King, as Gervase of Tilbury informs us. Mr. Echard sinks this Election, and says slightly, *He procur'd so great an Interest, that he was crown'd.* To maintain himself in Possession, notwithstanding

ing Duke Robert's *Hereditary Right*, he call'd a Parliament, and among the rest, the *Anglos Naturales*; upon which *Hody* writes thus, "Whatsoever Dr. *Brady* says to the contrary, there is nothing more evident than that this Parliament, or Convention, consisted chiefly of the natural *English*, and consequently of Persons under the Degree of Nobility: For, as *Huntington* assures us, there was at that Time scarce any one of the *English* Nobility remaining; and the *Waverly Annals* say expressly, that the Persons conven'd on that Occasion, were the *Populus Anglorum*.

The next Reign is another Breach in Heirship to the Crown; for Duke Robert is again set aside, and his younger Brother Henry made King *Populo Universo*, as *Matt. Paris* expresses it. Some Authors pretend that the first Parliament, consisting of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, was held at *Salisbury*, in King Henry the First's Reign, Anno 1116. In a Manuscript in the *Cotton Library*, it is said, "the King call'd a Council of all the States of this Realm, both of the Prelates, Nobility and Commonalty;" and no matter whether 'tis term'd a *Council* or a *Parliament*. The Convention of the States is in *Poland* a *Diet*, in *Sweden* a *Senate*, in *Holland* an *Assembly*, in *Spain* a *Cortes*, in *England* a *Parliament*; which latter, One Hundred and Fifty Years before *Brady's* Parliamentary *Æra*, now met at *Salisbury*. *William* of *Malmsbury*, then living, says, *Omnes Liberi Homines Angliæ & Normanniæ cujuscunque Ordinis & Dignitatis cujuscunque Domini Fideles*. It must be observ'd, that when we meet with the Terms, the *People of England*, the *People in general*, the *People of all England*, and the like, their Representatives must be understood, or their assembling would be impracticable.

The

A. D.

1100.

Henry I.

1116.

A. D.
1135.

King Ste-
phen.

A. D.
1154.
Henry II.

The Fourth Reign after the Conquest, makes no more for the Lineal Succession than the other Three. *Maud* the Empress, Daughter of *Henry* the First, was the Heir of the *Saxon* and *Norman* Lines, and a Parliament had sworn Fealty to her: However, as *Stephen*, Earl of *Blois*, expresses it in his Charter of Privileges, he was chosen King of *England*, *Assensu Cleri & Populi*. But at his Death, *Henry* the Second, Son of *Maud*, succeeded, *a Principibus Angliæ vocatus, & a populo desideratus*, says *Gervase* of *Tilbury*. His Right had been recogniz'd in a Parliament held at *Oxford* in King *Stephen*'s Time, though his Mother was still living, and liv'd Twelve Years after he came to the Crown, having the Hereditary Right in her self. Thus we are come One Hundred Years from the *Norman* Invasion, and have not one King by Lineal Descent. In King *Henry* the Second's Reign, a Parliament was holden at *Northampton*, consisting, as *Gervase* assures us, of *Bishops*, *Nobles*, *Abbots*, and Persons of an inferior Degree. At the famous Parliament of *Clarendon*, were present, according to *Matt. Paris*, *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Earls*, *Barons*, and Chief Men of the Commons, *Proceres Regni*, by which we must understand the Chief of the Commonalty, since the Earls and Barons were at that Time the whole Nobility, and are particularly mention'd. *Brady* knew all this full well, but he was hir'd to weaken the Authority of the Legislature, and sinn'd against Knowledge and Conscience.

What they call the *Church History* of these Times, with respect to *England*, as well as other Parts of *Christendom*, are only Instances of the Pride, Insolence, Cruelty and Avarice of the *Romish* Priests; and the like Instances are not to be met with in Pagan Darkness and Idolatry.
The

The Church, as Heylin, Wharton, Collier, &c. will needs term it, that is, the Prelates, Abbots, Priors, &c. made a most glaring Figure. Dr. Hody, a learned, honest, well-meaning Man, can't help taking Pleasure in telling us, not only how they were endow'd; but how they were dress'd in *Scarlet*, *White Linnen*, and *Furr*. They had a great Part of the Lands of *England*. They were Consecrated and Enthron'd. They manag'd the Kings almost as they pleas'd, and at every Accession to the Crown, made them swear to stand by them in all their Pretences; and they stood by the Kings no longer than they did so.

The Clergy in *Henry* the First's Time, swore Fealty very solemnly to his Daughter *Maud*: However *William*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the first Man who had sworn to her, crown'd King *Stephen*; and he and his Brethren swore again to that Prince, for whom they made a Coronation Oath, the Two first Articles of which related only to themselves.

The Sixth Reign after the Conquest, that of *Richard* the First, begins the Succession of *Primogeniture*, 123 Years from the Death of King *Harold*; in all which Time *Jure Divino*, as lately preach'd up, did not once take Effect. The Monarchy of *England* is *Hereditary* without all doubt, and its *Right Divine*, unless in such Cases as the *Revolution*, where it is inconsistent with the Safety of the People, for which all Government was form'd. We have often made use of the Word *Populus*, in mentioning *Councils*, *Colloquies* and *Parliaments*, before and since the *Norman Invasion*. And lest it should be objected that *Populus*, the People, could not assist at those Assemblies, we must understand, as has been hinted, by *Populus*, the Representative of the People, whom *Brady* falsely affirms not to have been represented

A. D.
1189.
Rich. I.

presented till Fourſcore Years after even this Time. 'Tis ſaid by *Matt. Paris*, that when King *Richard* was Crown'd, there ſat at the Table with him, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, *cum Clero & Populo*, with the Clergy and People ; where one can't ſuppoſe the whole Body of the People are underſtood, but a Part of them. The *Knights* are particularly mention'd in the Parliament, *Anno Dom. 1197.*

1197.

John

King *John*, Brother to *Richard* the Firſt, excluded *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*, Son of his elder Brother *Jeffry* ; and *Matt. Paris* tells us, the Convention choſe, and took him for their King. In one of his Charters he declares he came to the Crown, *tam Cleri quam Populi unanimi Conſenſu & Favore*. In the Year 1200, this King held a famous Parliament at *Lincoln*, where *William*, King of *Scotland*, did him Homage, in ſight of all the People, *conſpectu omnis Populi, & coram Magnatibus Regni*. Here *Brady* is put hard to his Shifts, but reſolves to ſtand out Threeſcore Years longer, and never own the Authority of Parliament, 'till he's forc'd to it : Upon which *Hody* writes thus :

1199.

1200.

“ Dr. *Brady* is not willing to own this to be a
 “ Parliament, becauſe, as he ſays, we find no
 “ Summons to it. But by his Favour, *Brompton*
 “ calls it expreſſly a Parliament, and mentions its
 “ being ſummon'd. *Apud Lincolniam Omnes Ang-*
 “ *liae Proceres & Potentes intererant. Nam Rex*
 “ *Johannes de Normania in Angliam reverſus*
 “ *PARLIAMENTUM ſuam uſque Lincolniam*
 “ *CONVOCAVERAT* ; ſo the *Annals of Mar-*
 “ *gan.*

Mr. *Echard* ſeems as unwilling to own it as Dr. *Brady*, for he does not ſay a word of this Parliament. In the Sixth Year of this Reign, *Hody* ſays 'tis certain the Commons of England voted

in

in that Assembly. King *John* was of a most unequal unfettled Temper. Brave in his Person, and generous to Profusion. He indulg'd himself too much in his Gallantries, but not so enormously as King *Charles* the Second, who had, however, the Appellation of *most Sacred*, and the *Breath of our Nostrils*, in the Pulpit, and out of it. He was no more a Bigot than that King, but then he did not compliment the Clergy so much, nor make them his Tools to justify his unwarrantable Schemes, by the Extent of the Sovereign Power. He, on the other Hand, was rougher in his Conduct towards them, than any of his Predecessors durst be, which is the Occasion of the foul Character given him by the Monks, the Historians of those Times; and Mr. *Echard* has not taken the least Pains to cleanse this Part of History from the Filth with which their Resentments have defil'd it. He acknowledges, "The Archbishop of *Canterbury* endeavour'd to outvie with his Sovereign in Magnificence: His Palace for Splendor, Attendants, and Entertainments, exceeded that of some Princes; and the King coming to *Canterbury*, he thought it a proper Time to manifest his great State, and small Regard to the King's Favour, by equalling his own sumptuous Preparations, with his rich Habits, and magnificent Gifts." Here the *English* Reader will conceive a just Indignation against the Insolence and Pride of this Rich and Arrogant Priest. He will not see in this Picture, the least Traces of his Religion and Function, and will be disgusted at the secret Pleasure Men of the same Profession take in such pompous Descriptions: "The King," *continues the Author*, concluded the Archbishop had too much Riches, and too little Discretion." He concluded very justly, and had good Reason to resent his indecent Behaviour. But

because this began the Contest between him and the Clergy: He adds, "The Lay Peers made the Flame fiercer, as misliking either his Title, or his Temper. Here's a Fling at the *Parliamentary Right*, for which the Historian goes out of his way, the *Lay Peers* not shewing the least Dislike to his Title. He had not been King long, and they themselves gave him his Title when they elected him. Indeed, he afterwards lost their good Opinion by his various Conduct. They then laid every Thing to his Charge, and every one that was displeas'd with him, fell a pitying Duke *Arthur*, and crying up his *Right*; yet in all their Declarations after the Rupture, 'twas the Breach of his Charters and the Laws, which they urg'd as the Cause of their taking Arms. This was the first Civil War between the King and his Subjects on that Account. King *John* had made an infamous Treaty with the Pope, by which he was to hold his Kingdom of him. And Bishop *Godwin* says, "He bare himself so bold upon the Pope's Favour, which he had bought dearly, as he doubted not to oppress divers of his Nobility with many and continual Wrongs, revoking former Grants of Privileges at his Pleasure, upon this Point, that he receiv'd his Kingdom from the Pope absolutely." Stephen *Langton* had been made Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the Pope, in Opposition to the King, who carry'd Matters in the Quarrel as far as an *Interdict*. But though *Langton* ow'd so much to the Pope, yet such was his Hatred to his natural Sovereign, that he himself instigated the Barons to this War, by telling them in a *Parliament* at London, [Mr. *Echard* calls it so now,] Fifty Years before *Brady's* *Æra*, that he had found a Charter of King *Henry the Second's*, by which, if they thought fit, they might assert their ancient Liberties; and accordingly

ingly he produced his Charter, and they swore in his Prefence to *contend for those Liberties even to Death*. Thus stood the State of *Resistance*, as well as *Lineal Succession*, 500 Years ago. And how must it provoke the honest *English* Reader, to hear it affirm'd in *Sermons*, *Decrees*, &c. that the Doctrine of *Resistance*, in any Case whatsoever, is unknown in our *Religion* or *History*, and merits *eternal Damnation*? The History of the *Barons Wars* in this Reign, will afford no great Instruction to the *English* Reader. The Barons were at first oppress'd, but, as Mr. *Echard* says, the King *began the War* under the Wings of the *Pope*. The *Barons* render'd themselves highly Criminal, in giving themselves and the Kingdom up to a *French* Prince, *Lewis* the *Dauphin*, who in his Declaration laid his Claim to the Crown by Virtue of the *Election* of the *Nobility*. What Good may be expected from a *French* Prince, or a Prince of *French* Education, we may learn from the last Words of the *Viscount de Melun*, who on his Death-bed confess'd, "That Prince *Lewis*,
" with Sixteen Earls and Barons of *France*, had
" sworn, that when he had subdu'd *England*, he
" would for ever banish all those that fought a-
" gainst King *John*, as Traytors, notwithstanding
" ing he had solemnly sworn to *restore all good*
" *Laws*, and the lost *Inheritances of the Nobility*.

In the Year 1215, a Parliament was holden at *Winchester*, where were then gather'd together A. D.
1215.
Comites, *Barones*, *Milites*, & *Libere tenentes*, *Freeholders*, as is said in the MS. *Eulogium*, and also a MS. History mention'd by Dr. *Hody*. This was Fifty Years before *Brady* allows any such Representative.

The next King, *Henry III.* when he came to 1216.
the Crown, wanted the Right of Heirship: For Henry III.
tho'

tho' he was King *John's* Eldest Son, yet the Princess *Elinor*, Sister to the Duke of *Bretagne*, was still alive. In his Second Year, *Magna Charta* was confirm'd, as is mention'd in the MS. *Eulogium*, *Non prætereundum est PARLIAMENTUM Londiniis tentum secundo Regis Anno, in quo confirmata est Carta Patris sui.* This is almost 50 Years before, as *Brady* asserts, the Word Parliament was made use of. In the Writ of Summons for the Oxford Parliament about this Time, the several *Shires* are directed to chuse four *discretos Milites*, discreet Knights for every County.

No body ever pretended, that the Form of Parliaments was in old Times exactly the same as it is now. It is well enough known, that the Upper and Lower States made but one House. That *Peership* was not always *Hereditary*, and that the same *Boroughs* were not always represented. But the Main of the Matter, the Meeting of the Estates, their enquiring into Grievances, their giving of Money, and exercising *Legislative* Authority, is as old as the *Gothick* Government. This is all that's contended for, or that is necessary in the Question; and *Brady* to destroy it entirely, not only affirms falsly, there were no such Assemblies till almost the Fourteenth Century; but after he owns there were such, he makes their Rights and Privileges to be holden of the King at Pleasure, and extorted by *Rebellion* in the 49th Year of this Reign. The Contrary of all which we have sufficiently prov'd.

We will now enquire a little into this pretended *Rebellion*; a Term *Brady* and his Followers are extremely fond of. I know not if the Earl of *Clarendon* did call his History that of the *Rebellion* himself, or whether it was so entitl'd by the *Christ-Church Men*; there being more in it of the

the Spirit and Manners of Collegiates, than of a Man of Quality.

In King Henry III's Coronation Oath, besides his swearing in the first Place, of which Care was always taken, to pay *Reverence to the Holy Church, and all its Clerks, all the Days of his Life*; [*Echard's Words*;] he swore he would *administer all true Justice, abolish all bad Laws and ill Customs, and cause such to be observ'd as were good*. His Affairs were in no flourishing Condition: But the Earl *Marshal*, a Man of great Courage, Honour, and Abilities, being appointed Regent, the Barons fell off from the *Dauphin*, and he was oblig'd to quit the Kingdom. The Earl *Marshal* dying in Three or Four Years Time, the Bishop of *Winchester* was made Protector: And as 'tis very seldom *Temporals* succeed well in the Hands of *Ecclesiasticks*, who indeed have nothing at all to do with them, we presently meet with Disturbances.

The first Thing the King was put upon that bred ill Blood, was a *Resumption* of those Lands, which had been granted to his best and greatest Friends for their good Services. Such *Resumptions* are always grateful to those that were neglected in the Grants, and sometimes promoted with too much Precipitation. Some Barons disputing the *Resumption*, they were immediately threaten'd with the *Fulminations* of the Church. And here began the Quarrel, as Mr. *Echard* confesses. The King at once declared all the Charters of Confirmation of Liberties in his Reign void, for that He confirm'd them in his Minority. What a deplorable Case must the Subjects of a Monarchy be in, from the first Year of a Minor's Age and Reign to the 14th, 16th, or 21st, if all that was done in so many Years was vacated by his Minority? The Religious Orders were

oblig'd to renew their Charters at a Price; and thus, says our Historian, *the whole Nation paid for the King's changing his Ministry*. Mr. Echard's Book came out before the Duke of Marlborough, Earl of Godolphin, &c. were remov'd from the Ministry in the last Reign: and it is a melancholy Reflection for Historians, who mean well to the Publick, to see what little Effect Example has, when encounter'd by the Passions and Lusts of crafty and wicked Men. King Henry's own Brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, was threaten'd to be banish'd for a Dispute in Law with a Creature of the Court; but he said he would not leave the Kingdom, *sine Judicio Parium suorum*: And being supported in his just Demands by the powerful Earls of Chester, Pembroke, Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrars, &c. the King comply'd, at least for a Time; and continuing to take the same impolitick Courses, the Barons renew'd their Complaints; and the King *might again have been easily persuaded to Compliance*, says Mr. Echard, but *the Bishop of Winchester infus'd more Spirit and Resolution into him*. Pretty Terms these, for Oppression and Obstinacy! He summon'd the Barons to come in, and give Security for their Loyalty; which great Numbers did. But the Potent Earl of Pembroke, being forewarn'd of Danger by the Countess of Cornwall, his Sister, fled into Wales; *where finding himself oppress'd, to use the same Author's Words, and deserted by some, whom the Bishop of Winchester had bought off, he entred into a Confederacy with Lewellyn, &c.* The King sent the Bishop of St. David's to defy him. Do we read of such Missions in the Apostles Time, or the first Ages of the Church? Is this a Message of Peace, fit for a Minister of the Gospel? However, some milder Counsellors being heard, King Henry promis'd once more to rectify what was

was amiss; and not making much haste, the Barons petition'd him, for the Honour of Almighty God, to take into Favour his natural Subjects, even his natural Brother, whom, without any Trial by their Peers, he treated as Rebels. But the former Spirit and Resolution being again infus'd into him by the Bishop of Winchester, that Prelate reply'd for his Master; *The Peers in England are not like the Peers in France; and the King may banish and condemn by his Judges only.* All the Bishops were not of this Mind. Those who sided with the Barons, excommunicated the King's evil Counsellors; and the Bishop of Winchester appeal'd to the Pope. The Earl of Pembroke, and the other injur'd Lords, finding by the Bishop's Answer, that their Lives and Fortunes were at Mercy, stood on their Defence with great Success; only, says Mr. Echard, *the Earl's Misfortune was to have his Sovereign on the contrary Side.*

Men of a certain Profession, who had their Breeding at a College, in the Reigns of King Charles and King James the II^d, must take a great deal of Pains to eradicate the dangerous Tenents they were taught there. The Encouragement which has been given to the Propagators of them, has hinder'd many from searching after the Truth.

It was the Earl's Misfortune to have the King against him. It was the King's Misfortune to have the Earl against him. Civil Wars are Misfortunes on both Sides. The contrary Side to the Earl was Tyranny, if to banish and hang People in England, without Trial by their Peers, be tyrannical; and I think in such a Case, when a Man's Activity in his own Defence succeeds, it is no Misfortune at all. A Hint of this Kind, in such a Case, has as mischievous Intent as open Argument for Arbitrary Power.

Those Successes of the Earl brought the King to another Compliance ; and he found the Treasurer he had made upon the Change of his Ministry so dishonest, that he said, *If he had not been a Bishop, he would cause his Eyes to be pull'd out.* Many horrid Practices, such as Bribery, Murder, and the like, were discover'd, after the King was reconcil'd to the Barons, which Reconcilement lasted not long : For the Queen's Uncle insinuated himself so far into her Husband's Favour, as to govern both King and Kingdom to the Dislike of all People. However it did not presently break out into a War. Some of the leading Barons were made Privy - Counsellors. Upon which they all took an Oath to give no *unfaithful Advice, and abstain from Corruption.*

Our Historian tells us, that in the Year 1248, the Parliament *insulted* the King. Indeed there happen'd something very extraordinary in that Assembly, considering *Brady* will not allow there was yet any Parliament at all. And when he owns there was one Sixteen or Seventeen Years after, he declares they were a Creation of the Kings, to exist or be annihilated *ad Placitum.* So far was this Convention from owning any such Insignificance, that they remonstrated, *That neither the Justiciary, Chancellor, nor Treasurer, were made by the Common Council of the Kingdom, as they were in the Reign of the King's Predecessors.* Five Years after, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster* in a most solemn Manner, consisting of *Magnates omnes & Communitas Populi.* *Matt. Westm.* styles it, *Parliamentum magnum.* Yet we have several Years to come before the Word *Parliament* was us'd, or the Commons admitted to it, according to *Brady* ; of whose Honesty and Judgment the Reader, I doubt not, has by this Time conceiv'd a just Idea. In this Assembly, *Magna Charta,*

Charta, and all the *Grand Charters*, were solemnly confirm'd, and the Breakers of them excommunicated with lighted Torches. King Henry held his Hand upon his Breast; the Bishops threw down their Tapers, and while they lay smoaking on the Ground, cry'd out, *So let all Opposers of this Sentence be extinguish'd, and stink in Hell.* At the same Time the King said, *So God help me, I will faithfully keep all these Things inviolably, as I am a Man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King crown'd and anointed.* Notwithstanding this Oath, he gave his Subjects as great Cause of Complaint as ever. *They despair'd of Redress, as Matt. Paris says. The King, like another Proteus, took all Shapes upon him to serve his End, and slipt out at his Pleasure; no Promises or Ties being strong enough to hold him.*

A Parliament was summon'd to meet at Oxford, Anno 1258. whither the Lords came well attended; and the King and his Son swore, That there should be a Council of 24 Peers Spiritual and Temporal, who should appoint the Great Officers, have Custody of the Castles, &c. The King was to name twelve of them, and the Barons the other twelve. The King and his Son also swore, *That three Parliaments should meet every Year.* These are call'd the *Provisions of Oxford*; and the whole Baronage of England was bound by Oath, *never to desist from prosecuting these just Resolves, either for Loss of their Lives or Estates.* The Archbishops and Bishops curs'd all such as should resist them. Here Mr. Echard bestows an Epithet on these Barons, the *Insolent Nobility*, which is to prepare the Way for his declaring them Rebels in a Page or two. The King soon got the Pope to absolve him, put himself into the Tower, broke open the Treasury, fortify'd London, turn'd out the Great Officers, who held

held their Places by Vertue of the *Provisions of Oxford*, and oblig'd the Youth of the City of *London* to take Arms.

Thus the Reader will observe he begins the War; and the breaking so solemn an Oath in so outrageous a manner, requires very strong Arguments to make it *Rebellion* in the Barons to keep their Oath. The best I meet with in Mr. *Echard's* and other Histories is, "That the King's Oath being made without his Holiness's Consent, was unlawful; the Pope being the King's *Supreme Lord*, and *Henry* now acknowledg'd himself to be the *Pope's* Vassal." To enslave his People, he submitted himself to the vilest Slavery: King of a potent Kingdom, he own'd himself a Vassal to the Bishop of *Rome*. His own Honour, as well as the Nations, the Safety of his Kingdom, the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects, were here all at once sacrific'd to the Pope's Pride and his Favourite's Revenge. The Reader will farther observe, that before he enter'd upon this ruinous Project, he took care to engage the *French* by a dishonourable Treaty; and he will learn by it, that ill Ministers in all Ages act generally alike, as well as good; and wholesome and destructive Counsels come from the same Quarters.

His Breach of Oath succeeded so ill, that the King and his Son were taken Prisoners by the *Barons*, who having now no Court Enemies to fear, fell out among themselves, and by their Divisions made way for the Ruin which attended them.

In the mean Time we come to the Renown'd *Forty-ninth* of *Henry* the III^d, when *Brady* allows the Parliament met first in *England*. Mr. *Echard* says, in this critical and rebellious Year, these pretended Patrons of Liberty were indemnify'd, and all the grand Charters once more confirm'd.

This

This Assembly was summon'd by Writs, as Parliaments now are ; Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes. Five Months after, the Barons receiv'd a great Overthrow by the Prince's Army, conſiderably increas'd by the Deſertion of ſeveral of the moſt powerful Peers and their Followers. Nothing prevented their ſuffering whatever might be expected from the Inconſtancy of this King, and the Reſentment of his Favourites, but their Fear of putting the ſame bad Cauſe to another ſuch Trial, when perhaps the Barons might not give them ſuch another Opportunity to deſtroy them by their Diviſions.

The *English* Reader will take Notice, that the *Barons* were all along forc'd to the *Reſiſtance* for which Mr. *Echard* and others call them *Rebels*. He will ſee, that there had been many Conventions of the Lords and Commons during the *Saxon* Heptarchy, and the *English* Monarchy ; and be ſatisfy'd, that *Brady*, and the reſt of them, Advocates for Church and State Tyranny, have betray'd the Truth of Hiſtory, as their Patrons betray'd the Liberty of their Country.

A. D.
1272.

In the Second Year of *Edward* I. it was enacted, That no Tax ſhould be levy'd without the Conſent of the Knights and Burgeſſes in Parliament: Which Act was publiſh'd with Excommunication, as an Addition to *Magna Charta* ; and yet *Brady* affirms, in his Book of *Boroughs*, That from the 49th of *Henry* III. to the 23d of *Edward* I. the Commons of *England* were not ſummon'd to Parliament. Dr. *Hody* has printed the very Writ of Summons for Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, directed particularly to the Sheriffs of *Somerſetſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall* ; to the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Briſtol*, Mayor and Citizens of *Wincheſter*, Mayor and True Men of

Edw. I.

Wor-

Worcester, Bailiffs and true Men of *Shrewsbury*, *Anno Regni Edwardi I. 11.* So here's another notorious Falsity prov'd upon *Brady*, tho' he got but 12 Years by it : For from *A. R. 23.* the Lists of the Members are preserv'd in *Pryn* and *Willis*. This was a glorious Reign ; and the honest *English* Reader will find, that our greatest Princes have always cherish'd the Rights and Liberties of their Subjects. The generous Spirit which form'd them Heroes, made them scorn the vile Methods practis'd by the Promoters of *Arbitrary Power*. A brave Man can't be cruel, nor a good Man unjust ; and Tyrants have always prov'd alike, Cowards and Oppressors.

A. D. 1279. This great King, to *diminish the exorbitant Power of the Ecclesiasticks*, held a Parliament in the Year 1279, wherein the first Statute of *Mortmain* was enacted. By this Act, the Laity were hinder'd from ruining their Families to enrich the *Priests* ; who having, as they pretended, their Souls at their Mercy, were wont to extort from them, on their Death-beds, the best Part of their Lands.

Edw. II. *A. D.* 1307. As King *Edward* came to the Crown by Succession, so did his Son *Edward II.* but was not like to possess it with the same Glory. He began ill, by throwing *William Langton*, Bishop of *Chester*, his Father's faithful Treasurer, into Prison ; and contrary to the late King's express Command, by recalling his loose Minion *Pierce Gaveston*, who fill'd his Court with Buffoons and Parasites, and insulted the Lords, and even the Princes of the Blood ; yet this weak King declar'd, *he would make him his Heir if he cou'd* ; and marry'd him to his Niece *Margaret*, Sister to the Earl of *Glocester*. He was a *Gascon* by Birth ; and agreeable to the Vanity of his Nation, appear'd at a Tournament at *Willingford* with so numerous an Attendance

dance of Foreigners, that he defy'd the *English* Nobility, especially the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, and *Warren*; mighty Barons, or rather Princes of that Age. With these join'd the Bishops; and both represented the Enormities of the Courtiers in such affecting Terms, that the King acknowledg'd the Grievances, and empower'd Seven Bishops, Eight Earls, and Six Barons to redress them. They accordingly drew up Articles, to the Performance of which the King solemnly swore. By the 28th Article, the Minion *Gaveston* was banish'd; but he soon recall'd him, and made a publick Declaration of his Innocence. *Gaveston* grew still more insolent, insomuch that he affronted the Queen. Mr. *Echard* tells us, the King was as loose in his personal Affection to him, as he was in his publick Favours. To prevent the utter Ruin of King and Kingdom, the Lords held secret Conferences, and were much animated by the old Earl of *Lincoln's* Speech to the powerful Earl of *Lancaster*, who had marry'd his Daughter and Heir. In this Speech the *English* Reader will find the true Spirit and Principles of the old *English* Barons, very far from the Doctrines preach'd by the inferior Clergy in our Time.

“ God has bless'd you, said the old dying Earl,
 “ with greater Riches and Authority than any
 “ Nobleman of *England*; for which you owe the
 “ greater Honour and Service. You see the
 “ Church of *England*, formerly in a State of Li-
 “ berty, now reduc'd to Servitude by the Op-
 “ pression of the *Romans*; and the People who
 “ have enjoy'd many Privileges, brought to the
 “ same Condition by divers Taillages and Vexati-
 “ ons. I advise you therefore, by God's Bles-
 “ sing and my own, that when you have an Op-
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“ Nobleman of *England*; for which you owe the
“ greater Honour and Service. You see the
“ Church of *England*, formerly in a State of Liberty, now reduc'd to Servitude by the Oppression of the *Romans*; and the People who have enjoy'd many Privileges, brought to the same Condition by divers Taillages and Vexations. I advise you therefore, by God's Blessing and my own, that when you have an Opportunity, you will deliver the Church and
“ People

“ People from such Oppression. That you will
 “ pay all due Honour and Reverence to the King
 “ your Lord, and will cause him to remove
 “ Strangers and evil Counsellors from his Pre-
 “ sence, and effectually to observe the Tenor of
 “ *Magna Charta*, and all the other Ordinances
 “ granted to the Clergy and Laity. For the ac-
 “ complishing of which, you should contract a
 “ strict Alliance with the Earl of *Warwick*, who
 “ understands them better than any other.

This Speech had such an Effect, that the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Hereford*, *Pembroke*, *Warren*, *Arun-
 del*, and *Warwick*, with other potent Barons, pe-
 tition'd King *Edward* to deliver *Gaveston* to them,
 or banish him, according to his several Promises,
 and the late Ordinances. But neither their hum-
 ble Petition, nor a Flood of Tears from the
 Queen, then big with Child of a Son (afterwards
 the famous *Edward III.*) prevail'd with him. But
 hearing they were coming to renew their Petition
 at *Tork*, attended by their Friends and Vassals,
 he fled to *Tinmouth*, and thence by Sea to *Scar-
 borough*, taking with him his Favourite, the Cause
 of this Disturbance; which ended upon *Gave-
 ston*'s falling into the Hands of the Earl of *War-
 wick*, who order'd his Head to be cut off, and was
 not long after poison'd by the King's secret Friends,
 says our Historian.

King *Edward* issu'd out a General Pardon, and
 the Parliament gave him a plentiful Supply. But
 Three Years after he solemniz'd *Gaveston*'s Fu-
 neral, removing his Corps, with great Pomp and
 Splendor, from *Oxford* to *Langley* in *Hertfordshire*,
 himself attending it, with the Archbishop of *Can-
 terbury*, Four Bishops, many Abbots and Priests.
Mr. Echard owns, few of the Nobility could so
 far set aside their Resentment, as to attend upon such
 an Occasion.

The

The next Year the King protected a mean deform'd Person, one *Richard St. Martin*, who stole away the Earl of *Lancaster's* Wife, and kept her, pretending a Precontract of Marriage. She was Heiress to the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*; and King *Edward* bestow'd them on so worthless a Fellow, to the Disgust, not only of the Earl of *Lancaster*, but of the whole Kingdom. The Two *Spencers*, Father and Son, the first Earl of *Winchester*, and the other Earl of *Gloucester*, succeeded *Gaveston* in the King's Favour, which they us'd so ill, that the Historian says, *Gaveston*, with good Reason, seem'd to be wish'd for again. The *Barons* having often complain'd to no purpose, of the Rapine of the *Spencers*, made Reprisals on their Lands, and procur'd them to be banish'd. The King, highly offended, took Arms, and attack'd the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, belonging to the Lord *Badlesmere*; of which making himself Master, he put the Governor and Garrison to a shameful Death. He recall'd the *Spencers*, and revers'd the Judgment against them as erroneous: In which he was assisted by the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, and the *Bishops*, as we are inform'd by *Mr. Echard*. The Queen, and several *Barons* deserting the Lords, the Earl of *Lancaster* was defeated in *Yorkshire*, and taken Prisoner. The Consequence of which was, what must be always look'd for from the Success of Tyrants and their Creatures, the best Blood in the Nation was spilt in all Parts, to be a Terror to the Assertors of *Liberty*.

The Earl of *Lancaster* was beheaded before his own Castle of *Pomfret*, without Trial; as was also,

The Lord Roger Clifford

The Lord Warren Lisle

The Lord William Tochet

William Lord Cheyney

Thomas Lord Mowbray

Jocelin Lord D'evinville

Lord Mauduit

Lord Bradbourn

Lord Fitz Williams

} at York.

Lord Teyes was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd
at London.

Lord Aldenham at Windsor.

Lord Badlesmere } at Canterbury.

Lord Ashburnham }

Lord Gifford at Glocester.

" This, in the Words of the Historian, was at-
tended with the entire Confiscation of all their
Lands, Titles and Estates, by which many
were enrich'd and advanc'd. Never was the
English Nation so stain'd with the Blood of her
Nobility since the Conquest; which being
caus'd in a great Measure by the *Spencers*, and
without regular Process, it open'd Veins for
more to follow, and afterwards procur'd a most
dismal Revenge." However, the same Au-
thor calls the Earl of Lancaster a Rebel. *Morti-*
mer, in his Words, was imprison'd for joining in
that Rebellion; and making his Escape to France,
was follow'd by the Queen, with her Son Prince
Edward. Upon her Return to England with some
Forces, she was join'd by the Lords; and the
King being abandon'd by his Parasites, fled into
Wales. The *Spencers* were taken and hang'd.
The Bishop of Hereford preach'd before the Queen
and her Court at Oxford, taking for his Text,
My head aketh, my head aketh. Whence he con-
cluded, that an aking Head was of Necessity to be
taken off. *Hugh Peters* could not come up to this
Bishop

Bishop in false and cruel Doctrine. And one sees what Sort of Operation would be practis'd, if this Prelate had been the Surgeon. The Citizens of *London* rose in Favour of the Queen, and cut off the Head of the Bishop of *Exeter*, a Tool of the *Spencers*. Proclamations were daily issu'd from the Queen's Army, That if the King wou'd come in, and conform himself to the Laws, he shou'd be restor'd.

But as such Princes generally do on such Occasions, he rather chose to conceal himself, than trust to this Declaration; or indeed, rather to lose his Kingdom than govern by Law. We had a like Instance in our Times.

The Earl of *Lancaster's* Brother found out the King in *Wales*, and brought him to *Kenelworth* Castle in *Warwickshire*. Bishop *Baldock*, his Chancellor, was thrown into *Newgate* by the Citizens, and there he dy'd. *Simon de Reading* was hang'd with young *Spencer*, and no other Executions follow'd this happy Revolution: For the Reader will always find the Lovers of *Liberty* to be Lovers of *Mercy*, and sometimes to have given the Friends to Tyranny an Advantage by it.

A Parliament being summon'd at *London*, it was adjudg'd and declar'd, that King *Edward* was unfit to govern, for Reasons which serve as well for the last abdicated King *James the Second*,
 " That in all his Reign he had been misled and
 " govern'd by others, who gave him evil Coun-
 " sel, to the Dishonour of himself, and the De-
 " struction of the Church and his People: Nor
 " would he remedy these Things, when he was
 " petition'd by the chief Men of his Kingdom,
 " nor suffer them to be redress'd.

" By his Pride and Cruelty he destroy'd the
 " Church and her Ministers, imprisoning some,

“and distressing others; and also executed, im-
 “prison’d, banish’d and disinherited many great
 “and noble Men of the Land.

“Whereas he was bound by Oath to do Justice
 “to all, he had no Regard thereto, but aban-
 “don’d his Kingdom, and endeavour’d to destroy
 “his People, &c.

A. D.

1326.

Edw. III.

His Son, *Edward* the Third, was appointed King, and at his Coronation, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* preach’d upon this Text, *The Voice of the People, is the Voice of God*. But it seems our Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Sanerost*, knew better, or did worse. *Edward* the Third, who reign’d next, scorn’d to advance his Power, by depressing the Rights of his Subjects. He turn’d his Arms against *France*, and became a Conqueror. The *English* will never have Reason to be afraid of a King of an Heroick Genius; nor of Ministers who will hold no Correspondence with *France*, otherwise than what they dare avow, and what is for the Good of their Master, and his People.

But notwithstanding Mr. *Echard* introduces this Reign so elegantly, *The English Nation not only recover’d Vigour and Strength, but also Beauty and Glory*: He can’t help reflecting on King *Edward* the Third’s *Revolutional* Right, and endeavouring to blacken it with his Father’s Death, though it is most certain *Edward* the Son knew nothing of it, and abhorr’d the Crime, and the Criminals. Besides, what he says is not true; *For King Edward the Son’s Throne, was not erected upon his Father’s Blood*; ’twas erected upon the Voice of the People. He adds, *Heaven’s Vengeance did not stop at the Lives of Gournay and Maltravers*; tho’ by the way, he owns *Maltravers* liv’d a penitent Life in *Germany*; but “afterwards reach’d to the
 “whole Kingdom; and what happen’d to the
 “Progeny of the present Prince, whose Throne,
 “though

“ though perhaps without his Guilt, was erected
 “ upon his Father’s Blood, the many embru’d
 “ Scaffolds, the various bloody Fields, the infi-
 “ nite Slaughters, occasion’d by their divided
 “ Families, with the extirpated Race of most
 “ of this present Nobility, will abundantly te-
 “ stify.

The appropriating of Judgments, has always been a tender Point among pious and sober Men. And besides, there was another Deposition and Death, that of *Richard* the Second, before the divided Families suffer’d thus for the Sins of *Maltravers* and *Gournay*. Whether the Queen and *Mortimer* employ’d them or not, I shall not determine; but must deny what he avers, that all the *Chief Actors* in the *Revolution*, were concern’d in the *Tragedy*. The Reader will see how impatient the Historian was to reflect so severely on an Event, which those *Actors* disown’d; and they are such Passages as these, which corrupt the Truth of History, and tend to corrupt the Principles of all that read them.

As I am not writing an History of *England* in Form, but treating only of those Parts of it, which will contribute most to confirm the honest *English* Reader in his honest *English* Principles; so I shall leave the rest to the Histories at large: And this being an active, glorious Reign, will doubtless give him as much Pleasure as Instruction.

Histories for this Period, from the Norman Invasion, to the Death of Edward III.

Sir William Temple’s Introduction, and Life of William I.

Dr. John Heyward’s William I. William II. Holingshed.

Daniel

Daniel.

Prynne's *King John*.

Sir Robert Cotton's *Henry III.*

Tyrrel.

Sir Robert Howard's *Edward II.* *Richard II.*

Joshua Barnes's *Edward III.*

Though Mr. *Echard* in his Preface, has endeavour'd to lessen *Hollingshed's* Merit, yet I will venture to assure the Reader, that allowing something for Language, his *History of England* is still the best we have, and will give one the greatest Insight into the Manners and Customs of the several Ages which are the Subject of it,

C H A P. VI.

*Of the Church History of England,
from the earliest Times of Christianity,
to the Fifteenth Century.*

A. D.
1040.

THE *English* Reader will be surpriz'd, if ever he should turn over *Heylin*, *Wharton*, *Collier*, and other Historians of their Strain and Profession, to find such a formal and particular Account of the first Conversion of the *Britains*, when we assure him, they were known no more in those Ages to the rest of the World, than the *Siberians*, or *Hottentots* are to us.

Some tell you that *Simon Zelotes* was here; others that *Peter* preach'd to the *Britains*. One *Sopbronius*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, affirms it was *St. Paul* who converted them. Another ascribes it

it to *Doritheus*, a Companion of *Simon Zelotes*: But almost all agree, that *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, and *Aristobulus*, mention'd by *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, were in *Britain*, and built the first Christian Church at *Glastonbury*, of which *Sammes* has given us as exact a Draught as if he had survey'd it.

The Authorities for this, are a Manuscript in the Pope's Library, mention'd by *Baronius*, and that of one *Freeculphus* a Bishop, who wrote about the Year 840. The Place where they make Saint *Joseph* to have landed, is Twelve Miles from the Sea, which being low Ground, they have overflow'd it, to make way for his Vessel; and form'd the Island of *Avallon*. Bishop *Godwin* would confirm this, by the Authority of the Monks of *Malmsbury*, and *St. Patrick* of *Ireland*: But the Story had lasted so long, and been told so often, that it was generally believ'd. Besides, it was so much for the Interest of the Monks of *Glaston* to have it credited, that they seconded it with many Miracles, especially that of the *Holy Thorn*, which blossoms every 25th of *December*, or *Christmas-Day*, and is the Remains of *Joseph's* Staff, as I my self was gravely inform'd upon the Spot. This Miracle not only proves that Saint's Mission, but also settles to a Nicety the Chronology of our Saviour's Nativity, just on the *Twenty Fifth* of *December*, though *Scaliger* affirms he was born in *Autumn*. The *Vulgar Account* begins it *January* the *First*, and others place the Day of his Birth otherwise.

The Story of *Joseph* is a plain Fiction; and the Monks having read in *Juvenal* of one *Arviragus*, a King in *Britain*, they make him to be *St. Joseph's* Patron, and to have given him Twelve *Hydes* of Land, so call'd then, when the Word *Hyde* had never been heard of, and the same at

this very Day. The Mischief of it is, *Arviragus* and St. *Joseph* cou'd not have met together, without a greater Miracle than that of his Staff; *Joseph* dying in the Reign of the Emperor *Caligula*, and *Arviragus* flourishing in that of *Domitian*.

— de temone Britanno —

Excidet Arviragus —

The Monks were not contented with the Story of King *Arviragus*'s Patronizing *Joseph* of *Arimathea*: They also made a Christian of him, to the great Damage of King *Lucius*, who by this Means would lose the Honour of being the first Christian King. To prove this, they forg'd a Medal, *A Crown'd Head with a Cross, and a String of Pearls*, "which, says *Camden*, is thought to have been *Arviragus*. *Harding* affirms, he was a Christian; "but 'tis generally said, says *Camden* again, *erga Religionem Christianam bene affectus*." *Gildas* places the Conversion of the *Britains* to Christianity, in *Tiberius*'s Reign, Forty Years before the Commencement of that of *Domitian*, which is very inconsistent with the Mission of *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, in the Reign of King *Arviragus*.

Bishop Stillingfleet has confuted this Fable, in his *Origin. Brit.* But then he endeavours to establish another, that of the Conversion of the *Britains*, by Means of King *Lucius*, who sent *Eluanus Faganus*, and *Meduanus* to Pope *Eleutherius*. *Gildas*, who wrote about 300 Years after, makes no mention of this King *Lucius* and his Conversion; and when such learned Men as Archbishop *Usher*, and Bishop *Stillingfleet*, espouse an Opinion so ill founded, one cannot but pity the Weakness of Human Nature, so fond of every Thing

which adds either to one's Profit or Reputation: It being much for the Credit of their Profession, that it should boast of so much Antiquity. If such Men as these give into the like Visions, what may we not expect from Archdeacon *Echard*? Besides, that the *Romans* were Masters of this Island, and King *Lucius* is only mention'd on this Occasion; the Fiction is gross, and appears to be Monkish, by this Application of King *Lucius* to the *Pope*, as if he had so early as the Year 170, been the Head of the Church; and by the *Pope's* Answer, in a pretended Epistle to *Lucius*, still extant; the Forgery of the Letter will be discover'd by these Marks: The Date is in the Text 169, in the Margin 156; yet neither agree with *Eleutherius's* Papacy, which *Eusebius* begins in the Year 179, and *Tallent* 177. To this may be added *Baronius's* Testimony; in the Epistle, which is in the *Papal* and *Royal* Stile, it is said, *You are God's Vicegerent in your own Kingdom*; whereas, if there was really ever such a Man as King *Lucius*, he was Vicegerent only to some *Roman* Proconsul, who commanded in this Island, then entirely reduc'd to the Obedience of the *Romans*. Whether you place him over the *Iceni* in *Norfolk*, or over the *Dobuni* in *Oxfordshire*, the one or the other being his Territory, if ever he had any, the *Romans* were absolute Masters in both. In the Epistle is the Word *Manutenere*, which we translate *Maintain*, and was not in Use in *Eleutherius's* Time, but smells rather of the *Norman Law Latin*. The Texts of Scripture quoted in the Epistle, are the Translation of St. *Jerom*, who liv'd 200 Years after *Eleutherius*. The Epistle never came into the World till 1000 Years after its pretended Date. But to fix the Forgery beyond Doubt, the Proceedings of King *Lucius*, upon Receipt of this Epistle, will convince any reason-

reasonable Man, that they were made for him by the Priests; who tell us that *Lucius*, in his little tributary dependant Kingdom, of a County or Two, turn'd Twenty Eight *Flamens*, and Three *Arch-flamens*, out of the *Roman* Temples, and put Twenty Eight Bishops, and Three Arch-bishops, new Converts to the Christian Religion, in their Room. Here's a Church form'd in an Instant, with as much Power and Pomp, as if Arch-bishops and Bishops had had the Revenues of their Successors to maintain it.

This is not the only Instance wherein the *Roman* Priesthood, after they call'd themselves *Christians*, were very fond of imitating the Pageantry of the *Pagans*, and met with too much Encouragement. They tell you farther, that *St. Peter's Cornhill* was consecrated in the Reign of King *Lucius*, by *Theonus*, a Bishop, with the Rites and Ceremonies *Ala Moderne*. The Catastrophe of King *Lucius* is like his Conversion: 'Tis said he resign'd his Imperial Crown, turn'd Preacher, converted the *Germans*, and was martyr'd at *Curia*. Some Authors, 'tis true, envy him this Honour, and make him dye at *Gloucester*, one of his Royal Seats, Fourteen Years after his Conversion. Now if any Part of *England* was subject to the *Romans*, that City was in a particular Manner, it being their strongest Frontier Garrison against the *Silures*, *Britains* of *South Wales*, a Station, or Place of Arms. Bishop *Godwin*, from whom *Camden* has taken what he writes of *St. Joseph* and King *Lucius*, speaks thus of this Establishment of a Hierarchy here by the latter; *There is nothing more absurd in this History, than the Imagination of filling the Sees of Arch-bishops and Bishops, according to the Place and Number of the Flamens, forsooth, and Arch-flamens of the Pagans.* Add to this, that there were at that Time not only no Arch-bishops in

in the World, but there never had been any *Arch-flamen*. No man, says the same learned Prelate, I dare affirm, is able to shew out of any ancient Writer, that ever there was any such Office among the Gentiles, as *Arch-flamen*.

Mr. Echard will not confirm the Story of King *Lucius* himself, but he refers you to Dr. *Stillington*, whose Authority is, I confess, very prevalent: However, I question whether it will overcome so many Difficulties as we have met with in it. When such Things are incredible in themselves, the Ecclesiastical Writers, who are loth to give them up, foist them upon you under some great Name or other; and are much help'd out by *Bede*, who, tho' more learned, was as errant a Monk as the rest of them.

A very great Admirer of Monkery, Mr. *Tanner*, in the Preface to his *Notitia Monastica*, informs us, that the *Winchester* Historian reports, there was an Abbey founded by King *Lucius* at *Winton*, A. D. 174. for Monks of the Order of *St. Mark*; and that the Lands and Privileges of the *Flamens* of *Winchester*, all the Country Twelve Miles about, were settled upon the Bishops and the Fryars.

I cannot in my Compass, enter farther into the Disquisition of this Matter, and have said enough to shew the *Fable* in it. 'Tis obvious why it was invented. The Pope sent *Damianus* and *Fugatius*, Two Roman Priests, with the Epistle before-mention'd: They baptiz'd almost all the *Britains*; and in a Succession from them, you meet with a *Man of Divine* in a every Parish-Church in *England*. The Chain of Succession is, they assure you, preserv'd as entire as that of the Sacred Genealogy in *St. Matthew*, *Abraham* begat *Isaac*, &c. thus in a metaphorical Sense, *St. Paul* begat Pope *Linus*, Pope *Linus* begat Pope *Cletus*, and 100 Years after

after Pope *Sotar* begat Pope *Eleutherius*, who begat *Damianus* and *Fugatius*, and they all the *English* and *Welsh* Priests, for 15 or 1600 Years, even to this Day, without the least Bastardy or Interruption; so that nothing can be made out plainer than the *Divine Right* of the Parochial Clergy to the Keys lineally or collaterally from the Apostle *St. Paul*.

Whatever great Name the honest *English* Reader meets with, to give Authority to such *Ecclesiastical* History, he will take the Liberty to follow Probability and common Sense, and then he will be safe in his Judgment.

Where there's no particular Light, as there is not in this Case, we must make use of the general one, by which we know that the Affairs of *Gaul* had great Influence on those of *Britain*. The Religion, Customs, Manners, and Laws of *Britains* and *Gauls*, were much the same. The *Britains* were the more superstitious, and their *Druids*, by their Precepts and Examples, had a better Reputation than those of *Gaul*. When the *Romans* conquer'd on the *Continent*, they soon invaded this Island, with which its Neighbours had great Communication; and when Christianity was preach'd in *Gaul*, which was in the Time of the Apostles, it was soon preach'd here, and with Success, but not such Success as the Monks and their Followers represent. That the Conversion of the *Britains* was not from *Rome*, we have Reason to believe; for that the *British* Christians follow'd the Practice of the *Greek* or *Eastern* Church in most Things, particularly their keeping *Easter*, a Controversy that lasted longest of any between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches. And I must say this for our *Parochial* Clergy, who are the greatest Sticklers for the *Divine Right* of Spiritual and Temporal Succession, that I do believe every good
and

and pious Minister of our Church, conscientiously exercising his Function, has as much of that *Divine Right*, as ever any of his Predecessors brought from the *East*, or elsewhere.

This Concession will not satisfy: The Exception to my Proviso of a Conscientious Exercise, will be almost general. They will have it without any Exception at all, and not be oblig'd for their Rights and Possessions to the Laws of the Land only.

'Tis certain the Christian Religion continu'd to be promulgated here in the Three first Centuries, but not in such a Manner as some of the Ecclesiastical Writers pretend. I believe it will be granted, that Christianity spread much faster in *Lesser Asia*, so near the City which was the Source of it, than it cou'd in the *Northern Parts of Europe*: And yet a very great Author, in his *Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, &c. of the Primitive Church*, assures us, p. 31. that 265 Years after Christ, the *Christians of the Diocese of Antioch*, were able to meet in one House. And let the Reader, who is not entirely convinc'd of the Fiction of King *Lucius*, his *Flamens*, and *Arch-flamens*, read that learned and excellent Treatise with Attention, he'll soon perceive there were neither *Flamens* nor *Arch-flamens*, *Bishops*, nor *Arch-bishops*, in our Acceptation of the Terms, in those Times.

The Monks were oblig'd to drop the Monarchy of *Britain* upon King *Lucius's* Death; and therefore they make him to be succeeded in his Kingdom by the *Roman Emperor Severus*.

Weighing these Matters seriously, the Reader, when he meets with *Collier*, and other modern Church Historians, instead of being angry with them, will be pleas'd to see how they labour to build something upon nothing. With what Formality

mality they talk of the ancient *British* Synods, Bishops, Arch-bishops, and of the Constitution of a *British* Church. That there was a Church of Christ here, even before *Lucius's* *Æra*, is not question'd; such a Church as will not do *Collier's* Business, a praying, fasting, persecuted Church, without Power or Revenues; a religious, sober, suffering Ministry, whose Lives were their best Lessons, and who doubtless had never been *Christians*, if they had not been taught by another Sort of *Mission* than was that of *Austin* the Monk, from whom the Parochical Clergy do in the next Place derive their *Jure Divino*.

Echard, and the rest of them, who have any Learning, and give such a splendid Account of the Power and Prerogatives of the Church, other than as it is dependent on the State, know better Things: Nay, that it is what Dr. *Prideaux*, the very Learned Regius Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*, stil'd *mera Chimæra*, a mere *Chimera*; so *A. Wood* informs us, p. 278. And what Difference there is between the Opinion of this great Scholar, and the Cry of a turbulent, restless, ignorant Faction, one may imagine by the Character *Degory Wheare* gives the same Dr. *Prideaux*: He is the greatest Divine we have; a plentiful Fountain, as of all other Sorts of Learning, so among the rest, of all Sorts of Histories; at whose Waters I have very often, with the greatest Pleasure, quench'd my Thirst. What a contemptible Crew must the *Colliers*, the *Whartons*, the *Heylins*, &c. be, in Comparison of this plentiful Fountain of all Sorts of Learning as well as History! And yet he knew of no such Church as they contend for; so Powerful, so Lordly, so Rich, so Glorious, and so Antique!

Before

Before we meddle with the Monk *Austin*, we must see how it went with Religion, between the Death of King *Lucius*, and the Arrival of that Missionary.

When the Empire became Christian, 'twas natural for the Emperors to favour their Converters, and as natural for them to make the most of their Favour. Immediately there were Patriarchs, Arch-bishops, Synods, Councils, and much like the same Form in the Church as at present, and though not all at once, the same Power.

That this might not seem a Novelty, or an Encroachments on Temporals, the *Presbyters* in the Primitive Church are stil'd *Bishops*; the *Conferences* among the Christian Preachers, *Synods* and *Councils*: Though one can hardly imagine the Christians, who during the Three first Centuries, suffer'd under Ten terrible Persecutions, were in a Condition to establish Bishopricks and Arch-bishopricks, to hold Councils and Synods, to decree Canons, and fulminate, as is done now-a-days: But so the Reader will be made to believe, by the Copiers after *Baronius*, such as *Echard*, *Collier*, and others. *Du Pin*, the French Historian, is a little more modest. The Apostles meeting at *Jerusalem*, A. D. 48, is call'd the first Council of *Jerusalem*, and the Term is appropriated to Religious Conferences only, as in some other Arts it has been taught to encrease the Mystery, even by the Term; I say other Arts, for whatever has been added to the Form of a Church, as we find it in Scripture, is Art, not to say worse. That there were such Religious Conferences, that there were Bishops and Presbyters, who met to consult about the State of their Churches, and to pray for their Purity, Peace and Safety, is most certain; but whether they bore any Resemblance to the Assemblies in succeeding Cen-

Centuries, or whether they were compos'd of Members, who minded so much their Temporal Power, Riches and Honours, may very well be question'd.

Mr. Fox, the *Martyrologist*, a very laborious honest Man, a little too credulous, gives into the Story of King *Lucius*, as much as any Protestant cou'd do; but he only copies *Jeffer* of *Monmouth*.

The next Fable we are to encounter with, is that of *Urfula*, and the 11000 Virgins, who were sent from *Cornwall* to propagate the Gospel, and their Species on the Continent. *Conan*, King of *Bretagne*, call'd anciently *Armorica*, had desir'd this Supply of Maidens to increase his People, who were much diminish'd by the Draughts made to recruit the *Roman* Armies. These 11000 Virgins, instead of crossing the Channel, and landing in *Bretagne*, were driven into the *German* Ocean, and being taken by the Infidels, perish'd for the most Part by their own Hands, to prevent being defil'd by the *Barbarians*. The rest were drown'd, and at *Cologne* are shown some of their Reliques at this Day, or something in Remembrance of them. They were fainted, and as much a Legend as this appears to be, it has had the good Word of several Ecclesiastical Writers. Some place the Destruction of these Virgins, *Anno* 238, others *Anno* 381, others *A. D.* 450. And it can't be otherwise, when several Persons write of an Incident founded in Falshood without Concert.

In the Persecution under *Dioclesian*, the *British* Christians suffer'd so much, that the very Name of Christianity was lost in this Island, except among the *Cornish* and *Welsh*: It began about the Year 300, and lasted all that cruel Tyrant's Reign. The *Britains* had been spar'd in the former Persecutions, by the Humanity or Negligence

gence of the Roman Governors; but now they had their Share of suffering; and our Protomartyr, St. Alban, Amphibalus, Julian and Aaron, were martyr'd at St. Albans, then call'd Verulam. The Priests, who wrote of St. Alban's Martyrdom, could not be content with the Courage, Patience and Piety of that Martyr, but have corrupted his History with Lies: Even the venerable Bede cannot help telling us, that he dry'd up a River as he went to the Place of Execution; that he made a Well spring on the top of a Hill; and that one of the Eyes of the Executioner dropp'd out: 'Tis added, that his Head spoke after 'twas cut off; and that Angels ascended and descended, singing to him all the Night; and that such as had been drowned in the River he dry'd up, were found alive. I have observ'd before, that though Bede's Name is made use of by Mr. Echard, and others, to countenance the Marvellous in Church History, yet the Reader must be cautious in crediting him farther than consists with Probability; against which, these Historians transgress more than the Poets.

Such Miracles as St. Alban's we must away with, if we will read our Ecclesiastical Writers; for on such Foundations do too many of them build their Edifices.

But lest I may be thought to deal by them too severely, see what the Reverend Dr. Edwards says of them in his *New Discoveries*, p. 40. "Ecclesiastical History is chiefly spent in reciting the
" wild Opinions of Hereticks, the Contentions
" between Emperors and Popes, the idle and superstitious Canons, and ridiculous Decrees and
" Constitutions of pack'd Councils; their Debates about frivolous Matters, and playing the
" Fool with Religion; the Consultations of Synods about augmenting the Revenues of the

“ Clergy, and establishing their Pride and Grandeur, the Impostures of Monks and Priars ;
 “ the Schisms and Factions of the Church ; the
 “ Tyranny, Cruelty, and Impiety of the Clergy : ”
 And that illustrious Author, *Grotius*, does not stick to say, *He that reads Ecclesiastical History, reads nothing but the Roguery and Folly of Churchmen*, *Grot. Epistolæ*, p. 22. These are hard Words, but those are to be blam'd that gave the Occasion.

And now the Empire is become Christian, you'll soon read of a Synod in *Britain*. The first we meet with, is that of *Verulam*, *A. D.* 446, at which *Germanus*, Bishop of *Auxerre* in *France*, and *Lupus*, Bishop of *Troyes*, assisted to confute the *Pelagian* Heresy. Nor was this the only good Turn *Germanus* did the *Britains*, for he led them against their Enemies, the *Picts* and *Saxons* ; and by a Miracle or Stratagem obtain'd a great Victory. But of his Actions here, and his making Bishops and Archbishops, if the Reader can give Credit to the Monkish Writers, he will find them faithfully copied by *Jeremy Collier*, and others.

The Pagans having made such Havock among the Christians in *Britain*, and the *Saxons* overrunning the Island from the Lands-End to *Edinburgh*, the Christian Name was not only almost worn out here, but the Christian Virtues were no more in Remembrance. *Gildas*, speaking of the Clergy of his Time, not long after the *Saxons* settled in this Island, says, “ Nor was this the Demenor only of the Laity ; [*Here he enumerates the horrid Vices of those Times*] but the Clergy and Pastors too, whose Examples should be a Guide to all others : Yet many of them were notorious for their *Drunkenness*, having debauch'd themselves with Wine to a perfect Sot-
 “ tishness ;

“ tishness; or else for being swoln with Pride
 “ and Wilfulness, full of Contention, full of
 “ Gall and Envy, and incompetent Judges of
 “ Good and Evil: Thus were Princes plainly
 “ contemn’d and slighted, and the People seduc’d, &c.

I make use of a Translation publish’d by a Right Reverend and Learned Prelate; and the Reader will judge of the Difference between these ancient *British* Priests, and the modern Parochial *Priesthood*. When I speak thus, ’tis always with a large Exception to the Learned and Pious Clergy of the National Church, whose Lives and Doctrines are equally exemplary and instructive. I do always intend the *Furious*, Ignorant, Illiterate, and Immoral: And if there are no such, I am fighting with the Air, and shall certainly make as ridiculous a Figure as *Quixotte* at War with the Windmill.

We are now come to a new Conversion of the Inhabitants of this Island from *Paganism* to *Podoxy*; for I am very fearful of calling so much of the *Romish* Superstition as *Austin* the Monk brought hither with him, the *Christian Religion*. Collier and his Brethren are extremely transported with the glad Tidings which came by this *Italian Friar*, who did baptize a Multitude of *Saxons* of all Qualities, from *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, to the meanest of his Subjects. But this History is so whimsically introduc’d by them, that one has good Reason to suspect the Truth of it.

The Scene opens with three or four Evangelical Puns dropp’d from the Mouth of *St. Gregory* the Pope, upon Sight of some *English* Boys, that were to be sold in the Streets of *Rome*; tho’ it is hard to prove that they dealt then in such Merchandise in these Parts of the World.

Gregory demanding of what Country they were? he was answered, They are *Angles*, or *English*. *Well may they be call'd Angles*, says he, *for they look like Angels*. We can't be angry with this, because 'tis so pretty a Compliment on our Country. The Curiosity of Gregory, nor his Puns, did not stop here. He then ask'd, Of what Province? It was said, they were of *Deira*; the *Saxon Kingdom of Northumberland* being for a while subdivided into Two Kingdoms, *Deira*, of which one *Ælla* was then King, and *Bernicia*. God grant, says St. Gregory, that they may be *De ira Dei eruti*, deliver'd from the Wrath of God. He is still so curious as to enquire what the King's Name was; and that luckily makes room for a third Pun: *Ælla*, reply'd the Merchant who sold the Boys. Upon which Gregory cry'd out, *Alleluja must needs be sung in those Parts*, &c. Accordingly he was coming hither himself, and had travell'd Three Days Journey on his Way, but the Romans fetch'd him back; and being chosen Pope, he, by *divine Impulse*, as we read in *Echard*, sent hither that proud Monk Augustine, as *Fox* calls him, who, we are told by Historians, landed here on the very Day upon which that grand Impostor *Mahomet* was born: And that he was a very silly, as well as a very proud Priest, may be seen by the Questions he sent to Pope Gregory, to be answer'd by his Infallibility. They are in *Fox*, Vol. I. p. 52.

Imprimis, Of Oblations, and how they shou'd be shar'd?

The Pope answer'd, "In the Primitive Church
" there was not one who counted any thing his
" own.

Quest. 2. *Whether Clerks that cannot contain, may marry?*

The Pope's Answer, " Let them have Wives. Fifth, Sixth and Seventh are about *Matrimony*, and the Conjugal Duty.

The Eighth is so smutty, that I dare not repeat it; but the Answer to it is still worse.

I shall finish his History with an Account of his Behaviour to the *British* Christians, whose Churches were preserv'd in *Wales*, under the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Llandaff*, *Paterne*, *Bangor*, *St. Asaph*, of the *Wiccians*, and of *Margan*. *Austin* having, by the Help of his Wife, made a Convert of the King of *Kent*, at that Time Paramount or Chief, tho' not sole Monarch of *England*, went into *Wiccia*, or *Worcestershire*, to have a Meeting with the *British* Clergy.

Before the latter would meet him, they consulted an Hermit, an ancient wise and holy Man, whether they should acknowledge him or not? His Advice was this: " If he were a Man of God, to take the Course he shew'd, and to follow his Admonition." And when they ask'd him how they should discern whether he was a Man of God? he pronounc'd this Saying of our Saviour, *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and humble of heart.* " If therefore, continu'd he, this same *Augustine* be a meek and humble-minded Man, it is a great Presumption that he bears the Yoke of Christ, and offers the same to you. But if he be stout and proud, he is not of God. You may be bold. This therefore is my Advice: Have a care that he and his Company be first in the Place where you meet. If then, you being the greater Number, he rise not to do you Reverence, but despise you, despise you also him and his Counsel." I make use of Bishop *Godwin's* Words. The *English* Reader will see here, what is the only Characteristick of a *Man of God*,

to be *meek and humble-minded*. And let him look about him, when he comes into Cathedrals, Colleges, Convocations, Visitations, and the like: When he reads the Sermons on the 30th of *January*, and 29th of *May*; *Bath* and *Affize* Sermons; those that come from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and such as have Strength enough to crawl to the Press from some Country Churches: Let him compare the Temper he finds in them, with this good *Welsh* Hermit's Character of a *Man of God*; and then judge of the *Divinity* and the *DIVINE RIGHT* of both. He cannot err by such a Rule: I dare say there is not a *Man of God* in *Christendom*, but will be try'd by it.

To return to *Austin*. When he came to the Assembly, he advanc'd with his *Banner and Cross*, with *Singing, Procession, and great Pomp*. Good God! what a Surprise must this be to Men, who had study'd Christianity only in the Scripture. He never offer'd to move, when the *British* Bishops enter'd, nor made them the least Salutation. At which they conceiv'd the Indignation the *Anchorite* had advis'd, and wou'd have nothing to do with him; for they said, "He will not so much
 " as rise out of his Chair to salute us: How
 " much more, when we have submitted our selves
 " to his Jurisdiction, will he contemn us, and
 " set us at Nought." At which the Monk's Wrath was so kindred, that, in the Words of Bishop *Godwin*, "He could not forbear immedi-
 " ately to breathe out Threats against the poor
 " *Britains*; telling them, that they which refus'd
 " to be at Peace with their Friends, should short-
 " ly find War and Enemies; and that they should
 " find temporal Death by the Sword of them,
 " at whose Hands they would not receive the
 " Offer of everlasting Life." Pursuant to his Menaces, he arm'd King *Ethelbert* against them,
 and

and his Soldiers murder'd 1100 Monks, who were unarm'd, and at Prayers for the Assistance of Heaven in the Time of their Peril and Distress. After the Reader has inform'd himself of these Things, he will receive no Damage by *Wharton*, *Collier*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers. They will not be able to impose this imperious Monk upon him for a *Saint*. And the Pomp and Pride of his Mission, taken with the sad Effects of it upon the poor *Britains*, will very much abate the Veneration with which those Historians would inspire him.

That there may remain no Blemish on this *Missionary*, from whom the Ecclesiasticks do frequently derive the Apostolical Succession, Mr. *Echard* tells us positively, *Austin liv'd not to see the Success of his Prophecy, but dy'd in the following Year 605*. Either he knew not the History, or he has grossly prevaricated in this Place. I'm satisfy'd, the Reader will rely on the Authority of Bishop *Godwin*, and I therefore repeat his Words. *Succes. Bish. p. 45.*

“ Well I know that divers affirm, *Austin* died
 “ the Year 603, not 605; whereas this War
 “ was made Two Years after that Time. And
 “ *Beda*, as now we have him, seemeth to con-
 “ firm the same; for talking of the foresaid
 “ Slaughter, and how it was foretold by *Augu-*
 “ *stine*, as before I have declared; he addeth,
 “ *Quamvis Augustino jam multa ante tempore ad cæ-*
 “ *lestia Regna translato*: Although long before
 “ that War *Austin* had dy'd.” This Mr. *Echard*,
 no doubt, was very well pleas'd with, as making
 much for his *Saint* and Prophet, the first Or-
 dainer of *English* Bishops. But what Bishop *God-*
win adds, is entirely sunk by him. “ Howbeit,
 “ it appeareth manifestly, that these Words are
 “ fraudulently thrust in; for the old *Saxon* Co-

“pies, whereof divers are to be feedn, have no
 “such thing. Again; It appeareth, that *Augu-*
 “*stine* was alive, and confirm’d a Charter made
 “by King *Ethelbert* the Year 605, which was
 “Two Years after the War. And divers do wit-
 “ness he died after that; some the Year 611;
 “and others, as *Matt. Westm.* in the Year 608,
 “whereas most of our Historians affirm the
 “said War was made against the *Britains* the
 “Year 603.

Besides the Behaviour of the Monk *Austin*, the
British Christians could not conform to the Cere-
 monies and Superstition of his Religion and Dis-
 cipline. They were upon a Primitive Scripture
 Bottom, which makes almost as much Difference
 between Popery and Christianity, as between Chri-
 stianity and virtuous *Paganism*.

As Dr. *Edwards* tells us, the Church History
 that’s to come, is properly a History of Bishops,
 Abbots, Synods, Convocations, Excommunica-
 tions, Penance, Tythes, Fines, and the like.
 Wherefore I shall be very short with it, and refer
 the Reader, who is more intent upon the Thing,
 to our Church Historians.

A *Pall* was sent to *Augustine*, and he is declar’d
 the first Archbishop of *Canterbury*. His Successor
Laurence pursu’d the same Steps; and being about
 to leave the Kingdom in Disgust, for the Ba-
 nishment of his Brethren, *Melitus* and *Iustus*, St.
Peter came to him, as he was a-bed in the Night,
 chid him for thinking to quit his Flock, and
 whipp’d his naked Body so cruelly, that ’twas all
 gore Blood. *Laurence* shewing the King his
 Wounds, and telling him how he came by them,
 his Majesty was so struck with it, that he recall’d
Iustus and *Melitus*, and built a Church.

About

About the Year 740, *Cuthbert* being Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Kings of *England*, and their Nobility forsook the Company of their Wives, and kept Concubines, most of whom were Nuns. "The Bishops likewise, says Bishop Godwin, and other of the Clergy, that should have been a Means of reforming these Faults in others, were themselves no less faulty; spending their Time either in Contentions and Brabbles, or else in Luxury or Voluptuousness, having no Care of Study, and seldom or never preaching; whereby it came to pass, that the whole Land was overwhelm'd with a most dark and palpable Mist of Ignorance, and polluted with all Kinds of Wickedness and Impiety.

If it be objected, This is an unfair Way of proceeding, to detach the bad Parts of History, and leave the good; let the Reader imagine from my last Quotation, what Good there can be in such a Period; and be assur'd, that I will quote nothing but what is vouch'd by the best Authorities. Shou'd it be ask'd, Of what Use is all this? I answer, My Intention is to set the *English* Reader right, when he is in these Days of Errors; that he may not be dazzled with the Splendor and Outside of a Church, as *Collier* and others will paint it, when within it was so full of Corruption. None of the Ecclesiastical Writers enough distinguish between the good and bad Times of Religion; and as long as the Power and Show are preserv'd, seem not to have the Purity and Practice very much at Heart.

As bad as these Times are, they are full of Miracles; and so have they been ever since *Austin* came into *England*. Mr. *Echard* tells you of a Revelation to *Paulinus*, the Apostle of the *Northumbrians*. That of *St. Egwin* of *Wiccia*, is more out of

of the way than many of them. He being at *Rome*, put his two Legs in Chains, and had them fasten'd down by way of Penance for the Sins of his Youth. He then was carry'd aboard a Ship, and flung the Key of the Chains into the Sea; from whence it was taken up by a Fish, and brought into the Ship, to shew that his Penance had been expiatory. This is told by the grave Author of *Polychronicon*; and *Bede* himself has his Share of these Miracles in his venerable History; together with a large and compleat Treatise of *Shaving* in Religious Cases. *Lib. V. Cap. 21.*

Now was Monckery in the Height of its Glory about the Eighth Century, and for several Centuries so continu'd. There could not be more Wickedness and Ignorance in the World; and the only Way to Heaven was now through an Abbey-Gate. Kings and Queens turn'd Friars and Nuns, and probably carry'd with them to the Convent more Religion than they found there. Such Princes as gave into this Folly, are transmitted down to Posterity with the greatest Advantage of Character. Such as were not so favourable to the Monks, are represented as Monsters of Men. What Sort of Lives the Nuns led, may be seen by a Letter from *Boniface*, the Apostle of the *German*s, as he's call'd, an *Englishman*, to *Ethelwald* King of *Mercia*. And yet there hardly was ever a greater Adorer of the Papacy; for he declar'd, *If the Pope carry'd innumerable Souls with him to Hell, no Man ought to reprehend him; he having Power to judge all Men, and no Man Power to judge him.* I doubt not, this *Boniface* will be met with in our Church-Histories in the Circumstances of a Saint, to borrow a Word from *Farce*; his Religion being not much better.

The

The great Pains which *Dugdale, Tanner,* and others, have taken to preserve the Memory of Monks and Monasteries, shew the good Liking they have to the Friars and Nuns, and their Willingness, like the *Israelites*, to return again to *Egypt*. It cannot be question'd, but there were many well-dispos'd Persons in these Monasteries of both Sexes; but not enough to warrant a Way of Life unknown to the Apostles and Primitive Christians. The Monks were a pamper'd standing Force, always devoted to the Interest of the Papacy, and very serviceable to that Interest by the Influence of their Revenues and Absolutions. One need not call them *Drones in so many Hives*, their Laziness and Luxury must produce such Effects. Little enough was the Learning of the World for Ten Centuries; and it was impossible but some of these Recluses must employ themselves in something else besides Luxury and Devotion: Books therefore lay in their Way, and little in the Way of any body else for many Ages. No wonder then, that there were Writers among them. But what Sort of Writings have they left behind them? Legends, Prophecies, Rhimes, and Histories, so confounded with Fables, that one cannot depend upon them, and yet are forc'd to make use of them.

Mr. *Ecbard* himself owns, that the Church Story is, in a great Measure, a confus'd Collection of Legends, Visions, Tales, &c. However, as they were zealous Asserters of the Divine Rights of the Priesthood, he will not part with them in Anger, and turns his Satire into an Encomium. *Tet out of these Clouds of Darkness, out of these monkish, inconsistent Discourses, we may pick out many Things surprizing, and Matter sufficient for strange Admiracion; if we take notice of the frequent Fastings, and the fervent Prayers, &c.*

What

of the way than many of them. He being at Rome, put his two Legs in Chains, and had them fasten'd down by way of Penance for the Sins of his Youth. He then was carry'd aboard a Ship, and flung the Key of the Chains into the Sea; from whence it was taken up by a Fish, and brought into the Ship, to shew that his Penance had been expiatory. This is told by the grave Author of *Polychronicon*; and *Bede* himself has his Share of these Miracles in his venerable History; together with a large and compleat Treatise of *Shaving* in Religious Cases. *Lib. V. Cap. 21.*

Now was Monkery in the Height of its Glory about the Eighth Century, and for several Centuries so continu'd. There could not be more Wickedness and Ignorance in the World; and the only Way to Heaven was now through an Abbey-Gate. Kings and Queens turn'd Friars and Nuns, and probably carry'd with them to the Convent more Religion than they found there. Such Princes as gave into this Folly, are transmitted down to Posterity with the greatest Advantage of Character. Such as were not so favourable to the Monks, are represented as Monsters of Men. What Sort of Lives the Nuns led, may be seen by a Letter from *Boniface*, the Apostle of the Germans, as he's call'd, an *Englishman*, to *Ethelwald* King of *Mercia*. And yet there hardly was ever a greater Adorer of the Papacy; for he declar'd, *If the Pope carry'd innumerable Souls with him to Hell, no Man ought to reprehend him; he having Power to judge all Men, and no Man Power to judge him.* I doubt not, this *Boniface* will be met with in our Church-Histories in the Circumstances of a Saint, to borrow a Word from Farce; his Religion being not much better.

The

The great Pains which *Dugdale*, *Tanner*, and others, have taken to preserve the Memory of Monks and Monasteries, shew the good Liking they have to the Friars and Nuns, and their Willingness, like the *Israelites*, to return again to *Egypt*. It cannot be question'd, but there were many well-dispos'd Persons in these Monasteries of both Sexes; but not enough to warrant a Way of Life unknown to the Apostles and Primitive Christians. The Monks were a pamper'd standing Force, always devoted to the Interest of the Papacy, and very serviceable to that Interest by the Influence of their Revenues and Absolutions. One need not call them *Drones in so many Hives*, their Laziness and Luxury must produce such Effects. Little enough was the Learning of the World for Ten Centuries; and it was impossible but some of these Recluses must employ themselves in something else besides Luxury and Devotion: Books therefore lay in their Way, and little in the Way of any body else for many Ages. No wonder then, that there were Writers among them. But what Sort of Writings have they left behind them? Legends, Prophecies, Rhimes, and Histories, so confounded with Fables, that one cannot depend upon them, and yet are forc'd to make use of them.

Mr. *Echard* himself owns, that the Church Story is, in a great Measure, a confus'd Collection of Legends, Visions, Tales, &c. However, as they were zealous Asserters of the Divine Rights of the Priesthood, he will not part with them in Anger, and turns his Satire into an Encomium. *Tet out of these Clouds of Darkeness, out of these monkish, inconsistent Discourses, we may pick out many Things surprizing, and Matter sufficient for strange Admiration; if we take notice of the frequent Fastings, and the fervent Prayers, &c.*

What

What stately and magnificent Churches and Monasteries ! there it goes. What plain and unlearned Zeal ! And to crown all : What obedient Devotion !

When you read their Histories, you'll find they speak of *Monasticks* as early as the Apostles Days : But that's so impudent a Falsity, 'twill not stand Debate, and must be given up at Demand. *Paul* the Hermit fled into the Wilderness about the Year 300, and *Anthony* the Monk soon follow'd him : But they were not such Sort of Monks as rioted in our *British* Convents. Sir *Henry Spelman* assures us, the Friars had Wives in *England*, and other Places, till King *Edgar's* Time, as they had long after. Nuns at first did not always live in Monasteries, were under no Vow, and might Marry. The Vow was begun by *Eustathius* about the Year 320. *Marcella*, a Widow, was the first of these Nuns at *Rome* ; where 'tis said Monkeny was first introduc'd by *Athanasius*. The Popes found Means to make them their Tools. The more wicked they were, they were kept in the more Dependency. Pope *Nicholas*, the first who began to restrain Priests from marrying, about the Year 860, had a Spirit in him, which shew'd by what Power it was enacted, and whose Service he was employ'd about ; not God's, as will appear by his ordaining, " That no Prince, nor
" the Emperor himself, his Sovereign, should as-
" sist in Ecclesiastical Councils, but only receive
" Hereticks from them, and put them to Death.
" That no Layman should judge a Clergyman,
" or reason upon the Pope's Power. That no
" Magistrate shou'd have any Power over a Pre-
" late ; alledging, *That a Prelate is call'd God*.
" That all Church Service shou'd be in *La-
" tin*, &c.

The Bishop of *Augsburgh* wrote a pathetick Letter to the Pope, setting forth the sad and mischievous Consequences of taking their Wives from the Priests. The Letter is at large in *Fox*, Vol. I. p. 177, and well worth reading. He tells Pope *Nicholas*, that his Predecessor *St. Gregory* made such a Decree, but repented of it on this Occasion; to use the old popish Bishop's Words, as they are there translated. "Upon a certain Day, as *St. Gregory* sent to his Fish-pond to have Fish, his Servants drain'd it, and found at the Bottom 6000 Infants Heads, which were brought to him, which were taken out of the same Pond. Upon this he did greatly repent in himself his Decree touching the single Life of the Priests, which he confess'd to be the Cause of that so lamentable a Murder." Such was the Sentiment of the good *German* Bishop: But such was not the Sentiment of *Dunstan*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Father of Monckery; who being a great Champion for the Power of the Priesthood, is much more tenderly treated by our Church Historians than he deserves. *Dunstan* was at first a Courtier, and expell'd the Court for *Conjuring*, as we read in *Godwin*. He retir'd, after his Disgrace, to the Abby of *Glastonbury*, where he had been bred, and became Abbot. The Ecclesiastical Writers tell you, when *Edgar*, afterwards Monarch of *England*, was born, *Dunstan* heard the Voice of an Angel in the Air, saying, *Now Peace is come to the Church in the Time of this Child, and our Dunstan*. They affirm, that *Dunstan* heard the Angels sing a Lesson in his Church at Evening Prayer; and that a Harp play'd to him by it self, the Tune of the Anthem, *Gaudet in Coelis*. Thus is the History of Monckery introduc'd in *England*, and of such Stuff is it compos'd to the End. King *Edgar* cru-

cruelly persecuted all marry'd Priests, instigated to it by *Dunstan*; and as wicked as these Times were, I might fill a Volume with Miracles and Revelations, to shew how well-pleasing the Doctrines and Practices of the Monks were to Heaven.

How tenderly does Mr. *Echard* touch this Affair, to justify the Usage the marry'd Clergy met with. We have shewn sufficiently, what the Morals of the Monks were, but it seems those of the marry'd Priests were still worse: For he tells us, *Because the Lives of the Secular Clergy became more and more luxurious and scandalous, King Edgar, in a severe Oration, openly display'd all their loose and scandalous Actions; and at length committed the Care of their Reformation to Dunstan, who reform'd them, by turning them all out to starve with their Wives and Children.*

We have told you, that *Dunstan* pretended he had a Revelation at the Birth of *Edgar*, whom these Writers represent as a Favourite of Heaven, for his favouring Monkery. But what says Bishop *Burnet*, *Hist. Ref. Vol. I.* “*Dunstan, and*
“*some other Monks, took Advantage from the*
“*Vices of King Edgar, to persuade him to make*
“*Compensation for them: And as he made*
“*Laws, in which he declar'd what Compensa-*
“*tions shou'd be made for Sins both by the Rich*
“*and Poor; so, it seems, he thought the found-*
“*ding of Monasteries was the fittest Compensa-*
“*tion for a King*

As to the Learning of the Friars, so much cry'd up by *Dugdale, Tanner*, and others, let us see what the same very Learned Prelate writes of it. *They were not only ignorant themselves, but very jealous of the Progress Learning was making at the Reformation. For Erasmus, and other Restorers of it, treating them with much Scorn, they look'd on*

the Increase of Learning, as that which would much lessen them.

The Miracle of St. *Edith's* Body is so very bawdy, that none but such a Monk as *Dunstan* could have told it, had it been true.

I shall save Decencies as much as possible.

Dunstan pickt out one of King *Edgar's* Mistresses, and the Daughter of another of them, to value himself on their Miracles. That King was no less famous for his Love of Women, than for his Favour to the Monks. *William of Malmshury*, one of the best Writers among them, says very seriously, That *the Blind, Deaf, Lame, and Possess'd of Devils, were restor'd to Health by worshipping the Tomb of Elfleda*, who liv'd in Fornication with this blessed Monarch.

As to St. *Edith*, the Nun of *Wilton*, whose Mother, a Nun, King *Edgar* had also deflower'd; when she had been bury'd Thirteen Years, she appear'd to *Dunstan* in a Vision, St. *Dennis*, like a gallant Frenchman, leading her by the Hand. Her Errand was to require him to cause her Body, in the Church of *Wilton*, to be taken up and enshrin'd, to the Intent that it might be honour'd here on Earth of her Servants, according as it is worshipp'd of her Spouse in Heaven. *Dunstan* immediately posts away to *Wilton*, and commanded the Corpse to be taken up with much Honour and Solemnity. When the Tomb was open'd, *Dunstan* took a strict View of the Body, and found only the Saint's Thumb, her Belly — I dare go no farther in *Dunstan's* Tale, remaining: The other Parts were entirely consum'd. The Meaning of which, the naked She Saint explain'd to him her self. Her Thumb was sound for the much crossing she us'd with it; and her other Parts which remain'd uncorrupted, were to witness to her Abstinence and Chastity. This was not so very proper

proper a Sight for St. *Dunstan*, considering he had been once so near Fornication, that if he had not caught the Devil by the Nose with a Pair of *Tongs*, he had certainly backslided. We can't help it, if of such Matters the *Church History* of these Times is compos'd; and only desire the Reader to see how they are represented by Ecclesiastical Writers; assuring him, these Articles are taken from *William of Mamlisbury*, the best Authority they have for any Thing they say.

I shall add no more of the Wickedness of St. *Dunstan*, but that by his Procurement, *Edward*, a Bastard, was crown'd King, and *Ethelred*, the rightful Heir of King *Edgar*, set aside.

I might have instanc'd a great Number of Breaches in the *Papal* Succession, which, according to Tradition, is the only direct Line from the Apostles. But these Breaches are too well known. I might also have enlarg'd on the monstrous Vices of the Popes, which were alone sufficient to prove, they had a *Divine Right* to nothing but the tremendous Justice of an omnipotent and offended Deity. This too I omitted for the same Reason; but cannot omit that St. *Dunstan*, whose Name is born by so many Churches, receiv'd his Archiepiscopal Pall from Pope *John XII.* Of whom, says our *Martyrologist*, " This Pope is noted to be very wicked and
" infamous; replete, from his first bringing up,
" with abominable Vices; a Whoremaster, an
" Adulterer, Incestuous, Libidinous, a Game-
" ster, an Extortioner, Perjur'd, a Fighter, a
" Murtherer, Cruel and Tyrannous. Of his Car-
" dinals, some he put out their Eyes, from some
" he cut off their Tongues, some their Fingers,
" some their Noses.

In a General Council, before the Emperor *Otho I.* these Articles were exhibited against him.

“ That he ordain’d Deacons in a Stable; that
 “ he committed Incest with Two of his Sisters;
 “ that playing at Dice, he call’d for the Devil’s
 “ Help; that for Money he made Boys Bishops;
 “ that he deflower’d Virgins and Strangers; that
 “ he turn’d his Palace of *Lateran* into a Stew;
 “ that he lay with *Stephania*, his Father’s Con-
 “ cubine; also with *Ramera*, with *Anna* and her
 “ Niece; that he put out the Eyes of Bishop
 “ *Benedict*; that he caus’d Houses to be set on
 “ Fire; that he broke open Houses; that he
 “ drank to the Devil.

The Death of this Monster was suitable to his Life: Being found in Adultery with another Man’s Wife, her Husband wounded him so, that he dy’d in Eight Days.

This Man was the Head of the Church at the Time of the Consecration of the famous *St. Dunstan*, as *Echard* calls him, and gives him afterwards the Gift of Prophecy: Nay, he assures us, that his Death *was usher’d in with strange Fevers among Men, and prodigious Fluxes among Cattle.* But whether such a Pope as *John XII.* had the Keys of Heaven to bestow upon him, let the Reader determine.

Much ado is made about the Godliness of *Edward the Confessor*, on whom the Monks will have it, was bestow’d the Gift of healing the *King’s Evil*, only the Priests have in later Days tack’d to it the *Hereditary Right*; for which, in Truth, they are as indifferent as my self, when it serves their Interest. None can now heal, that is not Heir anointed by Father’s Side, and Mother’s Side; or if there has been the least Foreign Mixture in the Blood, or the least Interruption in

the Lineal Descent. King *Charles* the Second, possess'd of all these Divine Qualities necessary to working Miracles, was the most fond of this Faculty, of any Prince since the *Confessor*; and indeed the religious Life he led, had great Resemblance with the Manners of the Wonder-workers in the Times of Monkeny. *Fox* tells us, some writing of King *Edward the Confessor's* Vision, say, *The King himself reported, that for the great Enormity and Misbehaviour of the Head Dukes, Bishops, and Abbots, the Kingdom should be given into the Hands of their Enemies.* 'Tis added, he fix'd the Time to *One Hundred Years, and One Day*: This is to do Honour to the *Confessor*, and endow him with *Prophecy* as well as *Healing*, and doubtless he had the one as well as the other. *Mr. Echard* says, very justly, *He was a weak and easy Prince, and too liable to be misled by the Suggestions of those about him.* His Piety to the Church was indeed extraordinary; but that to his Mother, whom, on a false Accusation of Whoredom, he us'd very barbarously, was not so commendable. The chief Reason why he was Sainted, was, that he never lay with his Wife; for which, if he was not impotent in Body as well as Mind, he must dye a Sinner, and in Impenitence.

William of Malmsbury declares, that for several Years before the Arrival of the *Normans*, Piety, and all good Literature, became so unfashionable among the Clergy, that they cou'd scarce read Divine Service; and to understand *Grammar*, was next to a Miracle. The Monks were clad in fine Stuffs, and observ'd not the Rules of their Orders.

The *English* Reader will by this Time have observ'd, that the Succession, to which the most ignorant of the Parochial Clergy pretend, is deliver'd

ver'd down to them from very ill Hands, both *Britains* and *Saxons*.

If they claim their Divine Right from *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, or from King *Lucius*, *Gildas* tells us how the *British* Bishops and Clergy were corrupted in his Time, insomuch that it call'd down the Divine Vengeance, in the loss of their Country to the *Saxons*: and it must have been a very extraordinary Miracle, to preserve that Right Divine, amidst so much Wickedness and Pride.

If they derive it from *Austin* the Monk, we have seen how it began, and how it continued to the *Norman* Invasion: and if the pretended uninterrupted Succession was not too chimerical to be disputed, one should not value ones self much upon a Title which had past through so many Abominations.

But as infallible as this *Right* is in the Title, 'tis not so in the Possession; for *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was remov'd by *William* the *Norman*, purely on Account of his being an *Englishman*; and *Lanfranc*, an *Italian*, made no Scruple of taking away both his Keys and his Revenues.

The greatest Part of Church History at this Time, is the warm Dispute between *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas*, a *Norman*, Archbishop of *Tork*, about the chief Seat in the Synagogue. Such Contests are so inconsistent with the Meekness and Humility of the Primitive Pastors, that 'tis very hard to conceive they were of the same Religion. However, Mr. *Eschard* tells us, this *Lanfranc* was the most eminent Instance of Learning and Wisdom, Piety and Charity; very consistent with his Contention about taking Place!

Anselm, a Disciple of *Lanfranc's*, succeeded him in the Archbishoprick, and began his Cure

of Souls, with quarrelling with his Benefactor and Sovereign. *William Rufus* found him out so soon, that he wou'd have hinder'd his Consecration if he cou'd, and thought so monastical a Man as *Anselm*, who seem'd to have the Archbishoprick forc'd upon him, would easily have been persuaded to return to his Convent. But he mistook his Man; for *Anselm*, says Bishop *Godwin*, kept *his Hold*, and spent the first Year of his Archbishoppal Dignity, in very insolent Opposition to his Master's Sovereignty, refusing to admit of any Bishop that was made by the King. This is call'd the *Right of Investiture*, and occasion'd unspeakable Trouble in the Kingdom, by the Differences between the Kings and the Popes. There's a Letter of *Anselm's* in *Fox*, Vol. I. p. 254, about Whipping, which doubtless will be very edifying to those that will be at the Pains to read it.

Among so many disagreeable Subjects, we come to a merry one at last: For *Rodolphus*, who was *Anselm's* Successor, imitated him so little in his Surliness, that he lov'd a Jest and a Frolick, which got him the Sirname of *Nugax*.

John, the Pope's Legate about this Time, made a famous Declamation against Priests having Wives, and they watch'd him for it so narrowly, that he was the Night following taken a-bed with a Whore.

There's nothing more worthy the Reader's Curiosity in the Church History, during the Reigns of *Henry* the First, and King *Stephen*, but in that of *Henry* the Second, he will meet with the infamous Story of *Thomas Becket*, who was made a Saint, for his Arrogance and Rebellion towards a Prince that had been very kind to him.

One of the principal Causes of the Difference between King *Henry* and *Becket*, whom he had made

made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was that Prelate's taking a Priest, who had been guilty of Murther, out of the Hands of the Civil Power, and doing the same by other *Ecclesiastical* Offenders; infomuch that *William* of *Newbury* tells us, there were above 100 Murtherers, and many more *Felons*, *Rioters*, *Breakers of the Peace*, &c. protected by him.

Becket could not bear to have his Authority question'd; and entering the Court in a way of Defiance, the Bishop of *Salisbury* said to him, *If the King seeing you come arm'd into his Chamber, should draw his Sword, it will be stronger than yours*, meaning the Host, which he held up in his Hand. *Becket* reply'd, *If the King's Sword cut carnally, mine cuts spiritually, and strikes down to Hell*. In Defence of such a horrid Crew, as *William* of *Newbury* has remember'd for us.

Among other Papers relating to his Affairs, there's a very long Letter of *Becket's* to King *Henry* in *Fox*, which begins thus; *To his Lord and Friend Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, &c. Thomas, by the same Grace, humble Minister of the Church of Canterbury*. Thus did this rebellious Prelate dissemble with God and Man. The Bishops, his Suffragans, earnestly pray'd him for God's Sake, and the Church's Sake, to accommodate Matters with the King; but he was deaf to all Proposals of Peace. He endeavour'd to arm *France* against his Sovereign Lord, and wou'd have set all the Princes of *Christendom* at War with him.

As to his Assassination, be the Guilt on the Head of the Assassins; it can no more be excus'd than *Becket's* Rebellion, Arrogance and Obstinacy.

No less than 270 Miracles were prov'd to be done by him, in order to his being *Sainted*; some

ridiculous, to use Mr. Fox's Words, some *monstrous*, some *vain*, some *absurd*, some *blasphemous*, some so *impudent*, that not the least Care was taken to conceal the Forgery. Notwithstanding all this, it is very plain, no Man ever affronted the Majesty of Kings, and advanc'd Ecclesiastical Tyranny more than he did. The Reader will therefore find him well spoken of in many Places; and a late Historian assures us, *The Fame of those Miracles of his, was exceeding great.*

It is well known indeed, he was one of the Saints Paramount in the *Romish Church*, and has a foremost Place in the Picture of *Apostolical Succession*. Mr. Echard, speaking of his Murder, says, *His devout committing the Cause of the Church*, that's worth minding; *Becket's* defying his Sovereign, to increase the exorbitant Power of the Ecclesiasticks, is term'd the Cause of the Church; his committing *his own Soul to God and the Saints*, &c. caus'd *Compassion and Opinion to be on his Side*, &c. which is right, with respect only to the *Assassination*; for no honest Opinion can side with him in his Attempts to destroy the *Constitution* of the Kingdom.

The Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* had been broach'd about 120 Years, at the Death of Henry the Second; in whose Time, Pope Alexander in a Council decreed, that no Archbishop should receive a *Pall*, without taking an Oath to support the Pope's Authority. In the Form of delivering this *Pall*, they *transubstantiate* the Body of St. Peter into that of the Pope; for the Words are *tradimus Tibi Pallium de Corpore beati Petri*, we deliver to you the *Pall* taken from the Body of St. Peter. The old Greek and Roman Pagans could not have been impos'd upon by such Nonsense and Impudence; yet, methinks, there's something in it to corroborate the Arguments which some of
the

the Parochial Clergy bring for their *Succession* directly from the Apostles. This new Reason too, seems stronger than all the rest, and I am too candid to conceal it. If the Pall be taken from the very Body of St. *Peter*, and that Body has always been in Being to bear it, a Mission, with all its Rights and Powers, descends to them from that Apostle, by delivery of the *Pallium*, as *Elijah's* Mantle fell upon *Elisba*.

The Religious keeping of the *Lord's-Day*, was at this Time much neglected; and though 'twas one of the darkest and most corrupted Periods of *English* History, yet good Men had even then a just Sense of the Duty of it. The Story has too much of Fiction in it, but the *Moral* is good. 'Tis said a Vision appear'd to King *Henry* the Second at *Cardiffe*, admonish'd him to amend his Life; and his first Charge to him was to command, *That upon all Sundays throughout his Dominions, there should be no buying or selling, or other worldly Business, except Preparation for Food.* The *Danish* King *Canute* made a Law in a Time more corrupt and dark, if possible, than King *Henry's* Reign, *That there should be no Markets, Fairs, and Assemblies, or other Secular Actions practis'd on the Lord's-Day.* How does all this agree with King *Charles* the First's, and Archbishop *Laud's* Book of *Sports and Pastimes* on the *Sabbath*? for opposing which, so many Pious Ministers, and others, were cruelly persecuted.

In the next Reign, that of *Richard* the First, the *English* Reader will meet with a glorious Description of the *Crusade*, or *Holy-War*, one of the most Romantick and Unwarrantable Enterprises that ever was undertaken. King *Richard* was put upon it by the *Pope*, who made it very meritorious for a Man to sacrifice his All, his Wife, Children, Estate, and Life, to recover the

Stones of the ruin'd Temple of *Jerusalem*, and the Dust and Ashes to which the Bodies of the *Christians* that dy'd there, were reduc'd. The Pope mightily encourag'd this *Errantry*, and many Hundred Thousand Men were such Fools as to hearken to him, and be knock'd on the Head in *Palestine*, besides many Hundred Thousands that dy'd of Want and Distempers, or were drowned. These *Pilgrims* had no Call to this War, no Right to drive the Possessors out of their Country: For whatever Right the *Arabians* had to it, the *Europeans* surely had none; and the Slaughter and Ruin which attended these Expeditions, are the dreadful Effects of Bigotry, and Popish Obedience. Notwithstanding these reasonable and affecting Reflections, they will be found to make a shining Figure in the *Ecclesiastical History*: As does the Ministry of *William* Bishop of *Ely*, with whom *Richard* left the Government of the Kingdom, during his Absence in the *Holy-Land*. The Story of him in *Fox* is entertaining enough; when he rode, it was in such State, that he had 1500 Horse in Attendance, Chaplains, Priests and Servants; and his Lewdness, Luxury, his Extortion, Pride and Cruelty, are all of a-piece. But his Dignity and Power will so dazzle the Reader, that if he'll be guided by the Writers of such *History*, his Vices will be only like Shades in a Picture, to give a Lustre to the Lights. When the Archbishops, Bishops, and Peers, would have call'd him to Account, the Pope wrote a sharp and thundering Letter to screen him from Justice; and not only threaten'd them, but the King's Brother, afterwards King *John*, if they presum'd to meddle with his Creature.

There's nothing at all strange in this. Good Men cannot do the Pope's Work; the wicked
the

the better for him. And 'tis a melancholy Consideration, that it has been said of the Corruption of the Multitude in our own Times, the *wickeder the better*: they will be the more ripe for Mischief, and the more blind to the Failings of their Guides.

King *John* had not reign'd long, before *Stephen Langton* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the Pope, though that Church had elected the Bishop of *Norwich*; and here again commences a Series of Debate and Confusion, which renders the History of those Times very disagreeable. *Stephen*, as he had usurp'd the Office by the *Papal Favour*, so he still maintain'd 'it till the King was forc'd, for Peace sake, to become Tributary to the Pope. This is a great Triumph over the Constitution, and the Reader will see 'tis manag'd accordingly in some Church Historians. King *John* being afterwards asham'd of his Compliance, and willing to take other Measures, it was thought best to remove him out of the Way; so he was poyson'd by *Simon* a Monk, at *Swinstead Abbey* in *Lincolnshire*; a very particular Account of which is in *Caxton's Fructus Temporum*, Book VII. *Caxton* wrote about 260 Years ago, and *Fox* has copy'd him almost Verbatim; yet a late Historian superciliously cautious on this Occasion, writes of it; *As to the Vulgar Story of his being poyson'd by a Monk, that is no where mention'd by the ancient Writers, who were all Monks themselves, and we cannot think it worthy to trouble the Reader with it.* Thus, here's Mr. *Echard* against Mr. *Caxton* and Mr. *Fox*; and on that Foot we leave it; observing that it goes much against the Grain, to bring in the Ecclesiastical Offenders at any Time Guilty.

In King *Henry* the Third's Reign, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal were so taken up with the Defence

Defence of their *Temporal* Liberties, that there was the less Room for Debate about *Spirituals*: And the next Reign, that of *Edward* the First, being active and glorious, the Church History is very barren; for the Reader will find the ambitious Priests take Advantage of the Weakness of Princes, and seldom carry their Point under a wise and valiant King.

From the Invasion of the *Normans*, to the Reign of *Edward* the Third, the Kings of *England* had hardly ever been free from Trouble given them by the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, set on by the Pope; and as they increas'd their Power, so the Impunity of the Clergy under their Protection, render'd them equally lewd and insolent.

When *John Wickliff* began to preach against the Pride, Avarice, and Wickedness of the Pope, and his Creatures, his Lectures made him popular even at *Oxford*, where he was *Professor of Divinity*, and of such Estimation with the King, that he sent him with the Bishop of *Bangor*, and other Persons of Eminence, in an Embassy to *Italy*.

When he had for some Time expos'd the Usurpations of the Bishops of *Rome*, and the wicked Lives of the Monks, the latter took the Alarm, and *Simon Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, turn'd him out of his *Professorship*. *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, the King's Fourth Son, and the Lord *Henry Percy*, were *Wickliff's* Patrons: And *William* of *Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, to be reveng'd of *John* of *Gaunt*, reported he was an Impostor, that his Mother was deliver'd of a Daughter, which being overlaid, she, to prevent her Husband's Displeasure, got a Man-Child to be put in its Place, and bred up as the King's. So far did this proud Prelate's Resentment carry him against a Prince of the Blood, the Son of his Sovereign, for defending a religious worthy
Divine,

Divine, against the Tyranny of the powerful, revengeful, and cruel Archbishop *Sudbury*. As soon as *Wickliff* touch'd upon the Sacraments, he was summon'd to appear before that Archbishop, and other Bishops, at *St. Paul's Church*. The Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Piercy*, and several other Persons of Quality, went with him; and hot Words pass'd between *Courtney*, Bishop of *London*, and the Duke; for which the City Mob were so offended with the latter, that they assaulted the *Savoy*, his Palace, and the Duke removing to *Kennington*, till the Rage of the Rabble was spent; Mr. *Echard* tells us, *By this Outrage the People let him see, what he, and the Lord Piercy were to have expected, if they could have seiz'd them.* But he does not tell you that the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, another of the King's Sons, and the Lord *Piercy*, brought a Bill into Parliament to punish the City for not punishing the Rioters; and how to accommodate Matters, the Citizens were oblig'd to carry a Taper of Wax, by way of Penance, in Honour of the Duke. Such mortifying Incidents are enough to discourage future Riots; which were of so signal Use in the late Reign to a seditious Priest and Party, abusing still the sacred Name of the *Church*.

In *Richard* the Second's Reign, the same Author informs us, the Martial Bishop of *Norwich*, a very odd Epithet for a Bishop, being drawn in by Pope *Urban* to preach a *Crusade*, and to serve as General against *Clement* the *Antipope*, obtain'd a Fifteenth from the Parliament, though most of the Nobility were great Opposers of this Expedition. He adds, "With the considerable Force he rais'd, he took *Graveline*, *Newport*, *Dunkirk*, and beat 30000 of the *Antipope's* Assistants at Sea." As ill as it became this Bishop to act the Soldier, yet being a Churchman, the best Face is put

put upon it ; and though at last he was forc'd to return without a Triumph, yet the *Historian* does not approve of the Reception he met with. *What prov'd harder to him than his want of Supplies*, the King, upon pretence *that he had not exactly obey'd his Orders and Commands*, for a while seiz'd upon *all his Temporalities*. One would think it was only for taking too many Towns, that this ill Fortune befel him ; whereas, in Truth, it was for levying and transporting an Army. Bishop Godwin represents the Thing fairly : “ Being a better “ *Butcher* than a *Shepherd*, he procures the Pope’s “ Authority for levying an Army, which (not- “ withstanding the King’s Command to the con- “ trary, for disobeying whereof, his Temporalities, after his Return, were detain’d from him “ Two whole Years) he transported into the *Low Countries*.

So that Mr. Echard’s not *exactly obeying the King’s Orders*, amounts to his raising an Army, and making War abroad without his Sovereign’s Consent.

The same Author does not omit the Judgment with which the Monkish Writers make the Death of *Wickliff* to be attended : *As a Punishment for his Heretical Sermons, the Use of his Tongue was taken from him*. If Mr. Echard believ’d this Judgment to be a Monkish Invention, he might have given us a Hint of it. But I have taken Notice, that *Wickliff*’s plain Dealing with the Prelates and Priests of his Time, has lost him the good Word of certain *Churchmen*, who, nevertheless call themselves *Protestants*.

Thus have we run over the most material Passages of *Ecclesiastical History*, from the Conversion of the *Britains*, to *Wickliff*’s setting up to convert the *Papists*. By material, I mean those that are most useful to our *English Reader*, which will

will instruct him how to judge of Things, when the *Sacred* Name of the *Church* is at any Time abus'd to countenance Bigotry and Sedition, and set the Priesthood in an Independancy on the State.

Church Historians.

Stillington's ORIG. BRIT.

Fox. Vol. I.

Fuller's *Church-History*.

Hollingshed.

C H A P. VII.

*Of the History of England, from
the Death of Edward the Third,
to that of Queen Elizabeth.*

IN this Period the *English* Reader had need be on his Guard, or he will be deceiv'd by the greatest Part of our Historians. He will find them extenuating as much as possible, the Male-Administration of King *Richard* the Second, to give an Opinion of Injustice in the Proceedings against him, and every where reproaching the Title of the House of *Lancaster*, for being founded on a *Parliamentary* Right. Mr. *Echard* tells us, *Richard* the Second, and his *Private Council*, did usually change or abolish all Things, which had been establish'd by the whole Nobility and Commons.

A. D.
1377.
Rich. II.

He turn'd out the Lord Chancellor *Scroop*, who had been made so by the special Approbation

tion of *Parliament*, for refusing to affix the Great Seal to his exorbitant Grants. He created *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, and gave him the Profits, as well as Government of that Kingdom. Upon a Representation from the Lords, of these and the like Grievances, he reply'd, *He would call in his Cousin, the King of France, to receive Advice and Assistance from him.* The Answer of the Lords will explain to the honest *English* Reader, on what Foundation the Principles of Liberty are built.

“ We have an ancient Constitution, *say they*, not
 “ very long since put in Execution, that if the
 “ King, through Evil Counsel, Obstinacy, Con-
 “ tempt of his Subjects, or by any other irregu-
 “ lar Causes, should alienate himself from his
 “ People, and refuse to govern by the Laws and
 “ Statutes of the Realm, and abandon himself to
 “ his *Arbitrary Will*; that from that Time it
 “ should be lawful for his *People*, by their full and
 “ free Consent, to *Depose* that King from his
 “ Throne, and set upon it another of the Royal
 “ Family.

Thomas of *Woodstock*, the King's Uncle, and *Thomas Arundel*, Bishop of *Ely*, were the Persons deputed to deliver the Lords Representation, and receive his Answer; to which they return'd this bold Reply. A plain Proof that our *Revolutional Constitution* was ancient 300 Years ago.

A Parliament being call'd, the King comply'd, and chang'd his Ministry; yet at the same Time consented to a Conspiracy to murder his Uncle; and not long after revok'd and abrogated all the Proceedings of that Assembly; which oblig'd the Lords to stand on their Defence, and the King again seem'd to comply with their Demands.

Another Parliament was held, who brought the Betrayers of the Rights and Liberties of the People to Justice: and among the rest, the Bi-
shop

shop of *Chichester* was banish'd to *Ireland*. Mr. *Echard* informs us, this Convention was term'd the *Universal Parliament*; though besides banishing the Bishop, and confiscating the Estate of the Archbishop of *Tork*, there were not above Seven or Eight that suffer'd. *Tresilian*, the Chief Justice, was hang'd; and he richly *deserv'd* it, being one of the principal Advisers of that wicked Advice to destroy the chief Lords, and to command the Sheriffs to *return no Members for the Parliament, but such as the King and Council approv'd*.

The King's last Compliance lasted not long. He took away the Liberties of the City of *London*, and began a terrible Persecution against the *Wickliffists*. He extorted excessive Sums from his Subjects by Loans; and, as he was advis'd, pack'd a *Parliament*. The Bishop of *Exeter* open'd the Session with a Speech, declaring the *Royal Power to be the only real Power*. And nothing now is heard but Executions, Imprisonments, and Confiscations: The Law was declar'd to be in the Pleasure of the Prince. The *English* Reader must expect such Tragedies, whenever the Ministers of Tyrannical Princes can pack such an Assembly. By these and many more illegal and cruel Practices, the King became so *universally hated*, says *Echard*, *that great Numbers design'd to Rebel*. These Writers of History cannot be brought to give a *lawful Resistance* any other Name than the foul one of *Rebellion*, of which the honest *English* Reader will be aware.

While King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, landed in *Torkshire*, and soon made himself Master of the Kingdom. At *London*, says our *Historian*, he was attended with flattering Crowds, and entertain'd with extravagant Praises. Soon after ha-

ving taken the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Sir *John Busby*, and Sir *Henry Green*, Three of King *Richard's* most wicked Counsellors at *Bristol*, Mr. *Echard* adds, *He cut off their Heads without Mercy*. But when he had the King in his Possession, and in his March to *London* was met by the Recorder, many Knights and Esquires, with a Petition to cut off the King's Head too; he would by no Means hearken to such a Piece of Villany; telling them, he should be left to the Judgment of the Parliament, who depos'd him, and plac'd Henry of Lancaster upon the Throne.

A. D.
1399.
Henry IV.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* open'd the next Session, with a long Speech in Praise of the new King, and justifying the Proceedings of the last Convention; to which there were few Opponents: Only *Thomas Merks*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, is mention'd, and extoll'd as a Champion for Arbitrary Power. Mr. *Echard* calls him a Person of great Learning and Spirit; and adds, "He bravely stood up for the Power and Authority of the Kings of *England*; and by several Arguments, drawn from the Constitution of the Nation from History and Scripture, evinc'd, that King *Richard* could not be legally depos'd, &c." The quite contrary of which, from the Constitution of the Nation and History, will be evinc'd from the Beginning of this Treatise to the End. He continues; "He farther display'd the innumerable Mischiefs that usually attended and followed such unjustifiable Proceedings." If these Proceedings were unjustifiable, those at our late Revolution were the same; and 'tis with this View, that such Encomiums are given to *Merks* and his Harangue. The Bishop was confin'd a little while, and then had his Liberty; but most ungratefully enter'd immediately into a treasonable Conspiracy to make War on the Person of King *Henry*: I will

will not say to assassinate him; but 'twas to take hold of him at a Tournament, to which the Conspirators invited him at *Oxford*. The Plot being discover'd, they broke out into open Rebellion; and *these Men of Honour and Conscience*, as the Historian calls them, cloath'd one *Magdalen* in Royal Robes, and easily deceiv'd the Multitude with an Impostor for King *Richard*. The Rebels not succeeding, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, among others, was apprehended; and the Pope himself was so ashamed of him, that he remov'd him from the Bishoprick, and put *William de Strickland* into his See.

The last mention'd Author assures us, "King *Henry* cou'd enjoy no true Peace nor Satisfaction." And what follows, agrees exactly with Things in Remembrance. "Conspiracies in *Embryo*, all supported by Calumnies and Forgeries. His Actions were traduc'd in Libels. He was wounded in his Honour, and endanger'd in his Person." The first that felt the Hand of Justice was a Priest of *Ware*; the next was a Priest too, *Walter Baldock*, Prior of *Laund*; and the next another Priest, a Friar *Minor*, who said he would fight for King *Richard* to the last Minute of his Life. This small Plot was follow'd by a greater: The Chiefs of it were the *Three Piercies*, who had been very instrumental in deposing *Richard*, and now rebell'd, *because*, to use the same Historian's Words, *they thought, perhaps, they had done unjustly in setting up King Henry*. The Historian is not sure they thought so, and himself therefore must think so for them. These are Flings at the *Revolutional Right*, by which all our Kings and Queens have held the Crown since the Abdication of King *James*. The Reader will meet with many of them in modern History, and by this Time

H

will

will have seen with what Reason and Modesty they come from these Writers.

There happen'd a very pleasant Thing in this Reign of *Henry IV.* which shews us how the Monkish Writers treated all Persons and Things that stood in their Way.

There was an Act brought into Parliament, against the Temporalities of the Clergy, which the King himself would not assent to, and it ended in nothing but the *infamous Memory of the Projectors*, to use Mr. *Echard's* Words. Notwithstanding which, the *Ecclesiasticks* were so offended with the Attempt only, though Religion it self was not the least concern'd in it, that they abus'd this *Representative* with Slander; and for offending them, impos'd on them the *Nick-Name* of Lack-Learning Parliament, and it is carefully preserv'd by our Historian. The Truth is, this Parliament had as much Learning as any of the preceding ones; and consisted of Members who had been chosen before, and were chosen after, as I have examin'd the Matter in *Prynne's Calendar of Parliamentary Writs*, and *Wills's Notitia Parliamentaria*: But because they would have reduc'd the Revenues of the Clergy to more moderate Bounds than Half of the Lands of *England*, those of the Peers excepted, Mr. *Echard*, copying after the Friars, has set this Mark upon them.

The Fact is false, and yet the whole Body of Representatives is vilify'd as so many Blockheads and Scoundrels; such is their *good Sense*, and *good Manners*, I will not say Moderation and Charity; for my Endeavour is to shew, we are not to expect it from them.

A. D. 1412. King *Henry* the Fifth, who succeeded his Father *Henry* the Fourth, by Virtue only of his *Parliamentary Right*, prov'd the most powerful and glorious

glorious Prince of his Age; and the Priests were so apprehensive of the Justness, as well as Greatness of his Genius, that they inspir'd him with a Thirst of Glory, which added almost all *France* to his Dominions. 'Tis own'd they had themselves in View, and put him upon Foreign Conquests, to take him from pursuing the Design attempted by the *Parliamentum Indoctum*. As Virtuous and Victorious as this King was, as Pious and Just, the Church Historians will not forgive him the Possession of the Crown by any other Hold than what the *Oxford Decree* confirms; and therefore Mr. *Echard* observes, upon his dying in the Flower of his Youth; *Indeed there seems to be something of the more immediate Hand of Providence in it, which now began to chastise the Progeny of King Henry the Fourth*. One of the boldest Reflections on the *Parliament Title* I ever met with; and it shou'd be the constant Prayer of all good Subjects to avert the Royal Progeny, which are the Hopes and Safety of this Kingdom, from the Malice conceal'd in such dangerous and groundless *Innuendo's*.

Way is made by the same Historian, in the Reign of *Henry the Sixth*, to set up again the *Divine Right* of Lineal Succession in Opposition to the *Parliamentary*, which is the Foundation of our present happy Establishment.

Sir *John Mortimer* being executed for Treason, There arose no small Murmurings among the People, he being Cousin to *Edward Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, the nearest Heir to the Crown, whose great Estate descended to *Richard Plantagenet*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Son and Heir to that Earl of *Cambridge*, who was beheaded for one of the vilest Treasons an *Englishman* can be guilty of, to betray his Country to *France*. The Earl of *March* was Lord of *Wigmore* in the *Marches of Wales*, a

A. D.,

1422.

Henry VI.

Title which has not since been very popular. At that Time the Disaffected, by *Wigmore*, understood *Mortimer's* Heirship; and a Weaver of *Abington*, rebelling, call'd himself *Jack Sharp* of *Wigmore's* Lands. He was soon suppress'd, taken, and hang'd; upon which Mr. *Echard* thus politickly Comments: *It is to be wonder'd the Council of State under King Henry, bearing that Title so often glanc'd at, should not have provided better against the Weaver of Abington. But the Eyes and Hearts of the wisest are blind, when God reserves a secret Scourge for the Interruption the House of Lancaster had given to Hereditary Succession.* With this, and many other such Complaints on the *Revolutional Right*, did the Author presume to address his Book to His Majesty.

The first who was set up in Favour of that *Hereditary Right*, was one *Jack Cade*, a Gentleman's Servant of *Suffex*, who having murder'd a Woman with Child, fled to *France*. Upon his Return, some Years after, he call'd himself *Mortimer*, and drew a great Rabble after him. He was instructed to use this Name, to found the Inclinations of the People towards the Earl of *Cambridge's* Title, as Heir to *Mortimer*, Heir to *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, by *Philippa* his Daughter, who marry'd the Lord *Mortimer*, and the Duke of *Clarence* was elder Brother to *John of Gaunt*, Great Grandfather to *Henry the Sixth*.

Cade's Fortune was the same as the Weaver's of *Abington*: He was soon routed, taken, and hang'd.

Had the Historian reserv'd his Political Reflections till he came to the Earl of *Cambridge*, made Duke of *Tork* by the King, against whom he rebell'd, they would have been more *a propos*; and one might wonder why, instead of providing better against the *Mischief* he did, King *Henry's* Council

Council should put Arms into his Hand, by making him Duke of *York*, Regent of *France*, &c. His first Pretence was only to redress Grievances; and upon King *Henry's* Compliance with his Demands, he renew'd the Oath he had formerly taken with great Solemnity in *St. Paul's Church*, to be a true, faithful, and obedient Subject; and the Breach of his Oaths, says the Historian, does manifestly display the highest Degree of Perjury, Treachery, and Treason, for which Crimes his Father was justly executed. In such a Channel runs the Divine Right of Lineal Descent, for interrupting of which, the above-mention'd Author has shower'd down his Judgments on the Royal Progeny of *Lancaster*.

The Divisions at Home lost all *France*: No matter; in the Language of these Hereditary Right Men. They spoke in the same Tone after the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

We refer the Reader to the *Histories*, for an Account of the Wars between the Two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*; observing that the latter, to set up the Title by Succession, renounc'd, forsworn, and after Threescore Years Alienation, overwhelm'd this Kingdom with Blood, slaughter'd 100000 Men, ruin'd many Thousand Noblemen and Gentlemen's Families, and brought this Nation, which under the *Henries* of *Lancaster*, was the most powerful and renown'd in *Europe*, to be the Reproach and Contempt of her Neighbours.

Of the Three Kings the House of *York* produced; the one, *Edward* the Fourth, is chiefly noted for being Handsome and Amorous: The other, *Edward* the Fifth, was a Child: And the last, *Richard* the Third, a Monster in Body and Mind; though *Buck* and others have endeavour'd to make him upright in both. Mr. *Echard* and

A. D.
1460.
Edw. IV.
A. D.
1483.
Edw. V.
A. D.
1483.
Rich. III.

and the Church Writers, fondly doat on the Title of these Princes, though the last made his Way to it by Murder. And tho' one would think so long Possession, and such glorious Reigns in the House of *Lancaster*, should have wean'd them, yet they cannot speak well of the *Revolution Right*, whenever it comes in their Way. Sometimes 'tis a *litigious* Title, sometimes *Usurpation*, never *Rightful* and *Lawful*, as all good *Englishmen* now acknowledge it to be. These Princes have been long reduc'd to their original Dust, and can neither give them Preferment and Dignities, nor take them away from them. This might be thought sufficient to make them indifferent in a Matter so remote; but the Case is nearer than the Reader was perhaps aware of.

The Title of the House of *Lancaster*, and that of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and his present Majesty King *George*, are the very same. Whatever Dirt is flung at the *Lancastrian* Right, is aim'd at the *Revolutional*; and to advance the Lineal Descent in the Reign of Henry the Seventh, how many Impostors were set up against him, one after another? What Disturbance did the Priests and Disaffected give him? And rather than obey a King, who despis'd the *Jure Divino* Title, they would have plac'd first a Baker's Son, then the Son of a Jew, and at last a Cocker's Son, *Simnel*, *Perkin*, and *Wilford*, on the Throne of *England*.

A. D.
1485.
Hen. VII.

Henry the Seventh triumph'd over all his Enemies, and left a flourishing People, and flowing Treasury to his Son. The Reader will take Pleasure to observe in his History, the vain Attempts of the Impostor *Perkin*, who was own'd to be the Right Heir of *Richard* Duke of *York*, by that Prince's Aunt, *Margaret* Dutcheß of *Burgundy*, and was supported by other Sort of Powers and

Per-

Persons, than the Impostor of our Days, and yet ended his Pretensions at Tyburn.

The Reign of *Henry the Eighth*, is introduc'd by Mr. *Echard* with the Character of that King, and his *nice* and *learned* Education, his Father having design'd to make a Bishop of him, before the Death of Prince *Arthur*; which is as false in Fact, as in Politicks, though frequently asserted; and why so much is made of it, one may easily conceive.

A. D.

1509.

Hen. VIII.

Bishop *Burnet* says, *His Father had given Orders, that both his elder Brother and he, should be well instructed in Matters of Knowledge, not with any Design to make him Arch-bishop of Canterbury, for he had made small Progress, when his Brother Arthur dy'd.*

The Affair of the *Divorce* embroil'd the King with the Pope, and usher'd in the *Reformation*.

Upon the Fall of *Wolsey*, the House of Commons prepar'd several Bills against the Corruptions of the Clergy, *who*, says our Historian, *abhor'd the Precedent of their intermeddling in Ecclesiastical Affairs*; and the Bishop of *Rocheſter* said, *it flow'd all from want of Faith*; as if there was any manner of Coherence between *Christian Belief*, and the Corruptions of the Clergy.

The King met with little Opposition to the Measures he took in abolishing the Papal Tyranny in *England*. The most was from the superstitious Priests, who suborn'd the Nun of *Kent* to pretend to Inspiration, and utter Political Prophecies against the Government. *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, before-mention'd, was one of that Cheat's Accomplices, and the credulous, as well as zealous Sir *Thomas More*, another. Their Folly and Treason deserv'd the Reward they both met with on a Scaffold: Nevertheless, the Reader will find our Ecclesiasticks in so great Admiration of the Bi-

shop's Piety, and *More's* Learning, that they have no Room to animadvert on the Iniquity of this Action. Mr. *Echard* is very angry, that the Bishop had neither Meat nor Cloaths in Prison, suitable to his Dignity, and the Character he deriv'd from the Divine Fishermen, our Saviour's Disciples. But doubtless both the Dress and Diet were very suitable to the Place, and his treasonable Practices. I hint these Trifles, to shew how unwilling these Men are to give Offence to a Character which is indelible; for no Question but our late Bishop of *Rocheſter* looks upon himself to be as much an Apostolical Bishop in *Flanders*, as he was in *England*.

The Historian takes Notice, that King *Henry* the Eighth's new Title of *Head* of the Church, increas'd, and swell'd his imperious Temper, which was also sow'd by the traiterous Practices of the Monks and Fryars, who at *Confession* instill'd such Principles into their Penitents, as broke out into several *Rebellions*. And the Effect of *Confessions*, to work the wicked Purposes of Confessors, is the true Cause of reviving the Tenent of *Auricular Confession*, which *Brett*, and other Ecclesiasticks of his Stamp and Merit, have of late been broaching.

Though Sir *Thomas More* would not swear to the King's *Supremacy*, for which he is in so good Terms with some Church Historians; yet he made such a Declaration to *Rich*, the Solicitor-General, who visited him in the *Tower*, as will lose him the Favour of all those that think as the *Oxford* Men did in their *Decree*. A King, says he, may be made or deposed by Parliament; but the Parliament could not determine the *Supremacy*, it being a Point of Religion. *More* and *Fisher*, besides their being concern'd with the *Nun* of *Kent*, who was attainted of *Treason* in Parliament, refused

fused to conform to the Act which made it Treason to declare against that *Supremacy*. Thus they were guilty of Two Treasons, and being try'd, convicted and executed; Mr. *Echard* will have it, that the *Execution of these Two great Men, chiefly upon a Point of Conscience, may be justly reckon'd among the Blemishes of King Henry's Reign*. All Endeavours were used to bring them to a right Sense of their Duty, to comply with the Laws, *which, says he, they could not do in Conscience*; but they could in Conscience enter into a Plot with an *Impostor* to destroy the King, to whom they would not swear as *Supreme Head of the Church*; what less could they mean by encouraging her damnable Prediction, that *the King should not live a Month, if he marry'd Mrs. Boleyn*? And why has Mr. *Echard* such extraordinary Compassion for them, when he tells us himself, with his wonted way of appropriating Judgments, "That he could not but observe the Justice of Heaven, in thus retaliating their own Severities to others: For as *Fisher* grievously persecuted the Preachers of *Luther's Doctrine*, so *More's* Hand was heavy upon them as long as he had Power, and he shew'd them no Mercy, but the Extremity of the Law.

But *Sancroft*, and his *Nonjuring Brethren*, having been depriv'd of their Bishopricks and Benefices, for refusing to take the Oaths to King *William*, upon which it was said they could not do it in Conscience, though the whole Body of the Church of *England*, with a very few Exceptions, had done it; these History Writers omit no Occasion of entering their Protest against putting the Laws in Execution on Men of their Zeal and Obstinacy.

When the Reader comes to the tragical Story of *Anna Boleyn*, whose Death appears plainly to be

be one of the most bloody Acts of *Tyranny* ever practis'd by a cruel King, he will find the Historian looking back on the *Divorce* of Queen *Katharine*, to take off his Compassion from that murder'd Princess. This shews us what Authorities they affect to make use of. The Papists are always reproaching the Reformation with the adulterous Marriage of King *Henry* and Queen *Anna Boleyn*, as the Ground-work on which the Superstructure was rais'd. No Protestant Writer, that was not popishly affected, has spoken dishonourably of the Divorce, or the Marriage that follow'd it, which was justify'd by the Judgment of almost all the Universities in *Europe*, and of all the most eminent Theologues, the Pope's Creatures only excepted; but the *Romish* Authors have written, as *Dryden* in his *Hind and Panther*, an impudent Lampoon on our Church.

*Her House not ancient, whatsoe're Pretence
Her Clergy Heralds make in her Defence:
A Second Century not half way run,
Since the new Honours of her Blood begun.
A Lion, old, obscene, and furious made
By Lust, compress'd her Mother in a Shade;
Then by a Left-hand Marriage weds the Dame,
Cov'ring Adult'ry with a specious Name.
So Schism begot, &c.*

So severely are the Reform'd of the Church of *England* handled by their inveterate Enemies the *Papists*, who will not allow the Continuance of the *Apostolical Succession*, after our Church fell off from that of *Rome*, but leave her as the *Laureat* does in a *Schism*: Yet so fond are our Parochial Clergy of that Heavenly Right to Earthly Emoluments, that rather than lose it, they will ravish it from the *Romish Pontiff*, and deny any Interruption

ruption in the Chain from the Apostles Days to their own. To keep the *Romanists* in a good Humour, some of these Authors flatter them on their *Divine Right*, and imitate their Reproaches of the *Reformation*, on Account of the *Sacrilege* and the *Divorce*. Mr. *Echard*, speaking of Queen *Anna Boleyn's* being beheaded, reflects thus; The same Act that was made for her Marriage, was now turn'd to her Ruin, *which had too near Resemblance with a Punishment from Heaven*. The great Malignity of the Popish Party against this good Queen, was for her favouring the Reformers. Their chief Writers, Cardinal *Pole*, and *Paulus Jovius*, blacken her as much as Malice and Invention can do it. But *Fox*, and the Historians of the *Reform'd* Religion, especially Dr. *Burnet*, sufficiently clear her Reputation from all Blemish; and indeed there's so little Probability in the Story, that one wonders how any *Protestant* Writers can have the least Complacency for the Inventors of it.

The Clamours of the People against the *Sacrilege* of dislodging the Monks, are repeated with equal Fury by some of them. "Their Houses
"and Revenues, says *Echard*, were dedicated to
"God and his Saints." Such as *Dunstan* and *Becket*. "Both the Regular and Secular Clergy were so sensibly concern'd in these Things,
"that they us'd all Methods to influence the
"People." For the Reader must know, that *Passive Obedience* is never a Doctrine with these Men, but when they have some Turn to serve by it. They us'd all Means to inspire *Heat* and *Spirit* into them, other Words for *Sedition* and *Rebellion*, which had the pernicious Effect intended: A desperate Rebellion broke out in the *North*, and ended in the Execution of the chief
REBELS.

As scrupulous as many of the modern Clergy are of allowing the King's *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, they will find their Reverend Fathers in Henry the Eighth's Reign, even those that had shewn their Zeal in the bloody Act for the *Six Articles*, were less bigotted to the Pope than themselves. If the *Supremacy* is not in the King, 'tis in the Pope, and no Law of ours cou'd reach him. But these Reverend Fathers took out Commissions, by which they acknowledg'd, that *all Jurisdictions, Civil and Ecclesiastical, flow'd from the King, and that they only exercised it at the King's Courtesy; and as they held their BISHOP-RICKS of his Bounty, so they were ready to deliver them up to him, when he should think fit to call for them.*

It will easily be perceiv'd, that this extirpates all *Apostolical Succession*, all *indelible Character*, and makes them what *Echard* calls them, the King's *Bishops*. That inhuman Wretch *Bonner*, set an Example to the rest on this Occasion. Henry the Eighth being disgusted with his Wife *Anne of Cleves* at Sight, gave up his faithful Servant *Cromwell* to the Rage of his Enemies, the whole *Romish Faction*. He was attainted in Parliament, for Crimes very badly prov'd, and lost his Head on *Tower-Hill*. He is known to have been the chief Promoter of suppressing *Monasteries*; and therefore the Reader will meet with a mixt Character of him. For though the Historians cannot deny him to have had extraordinary Qualities, and to have been an able and faithful Minister, yet, says Mr. *Echard*, he cannot be excused in *Two Particulars; his too boldly dipping his Hands in Sacrilege*. I have put the Reader in mind before of the *Technical Terms* used by these History Writers. *Sacrilege*, in a Lay Sense, is *Thievery*; and if an Act of Parliament allow'd of

of a Man's taking a Thing, how could it afterwards be call'd *Theft*? The Second Charge against *Cromwell*, was his too ready joining in condemning Persons unheard, the last of which prov'd his own Fate; which seems more like the *Vengeance of Heaven*, than the *Punishment of Men*. Thus has this Author taken off Two of the chief Promoters of the *Reformation*, *Queen Anna Boleyn*, and *Thomas Cromwell*, by the Strokes of *Divine Vengeance*.

It will be absolutely necessary for the honest *English* Reader to compare *Fox's* Account of the Lord *Cromwell's* Concern in suppressing of Convents, with this Passage. For as he is by Mr. *Echard* charg'd with *Sacrilege*, a damnable Sin, he is by Mr. *Fox* made a Saint in Heaven, and for the very same Thing, suppressing of *Monasteries*. It will be further necessary for him to acquaint himself with *Fox's* true State of the Matter, before he reads *Camden*, *Dugdale*, *Tanner*, &c. especially *Dugdale*, who tells us the Lord *Cromwell* died unheard, and little pitied: So bold an Untruth, that even the King himself express'd his Pity in an extraordinary Manner; and in *Echard's* Words, lamented his Death when it was too late. The Miseries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of Norfolk, and his Family afterwards, were look'd upon as so many Scourges of Providence, &c. Thus, according to him, were they scourg'd by Providence, for being the Instruments of *Divine Vengeance*. These Dealers in barbarous Gotbick Antiquities, mourn daily over the Stones and Rubbish of those pious Foundations. The living Travellers miss the Monks and Nuns in all our Roads, and the Dead their Masses and Charms. The Cry against the Impiety and Lewdness of the Recluses of both Sexes, was almost general, before they were unfrock'd; but the pulling

ling down of good Houses, which at first was call'd *Unkennelling of them*, as is usual in *England*, rais'd such a Ferment in the Rabble, as was work'd up to Rebellion. It has been an Observation of Foreigners, that the *English* hunt a *Criminal* to Justice like so many *Blood-Hounds*, and when he is carry'd to Execution, they weep over him like so many Children.

Dugdale has a long Harangue in his *Warwickshire*, against the Barbarity and Injustice of the Acts of Parliament for demolishing Abbeys, Nunneries, &c. and with particular Malice reflects on the fair Dealings of the Visitors, upon whose Reports these Proceedings commenc'd. *The Truth is, that there was no Omission of any Endeavours that can well be imagin'd to accomplish these Surrenders, for so subtilly did the Visitors act their Parts, &c.* As if they had been a Company of Knaves set to work to cheat the Religious of their Lands and Houses. The List of the Commissioners will be the best Answer; and the Names of *Paulet, Mildmay, Petre, Southwell, Fitzherbert, Pollard, Gage, &c.* prove the Malice and Falshood of his Insinuation. They were Gentlemen of some of the most noble Families in *England*; and he puts the worst Construction possible on their Enquiries, while he makes what Excuses he can for the gross Enormities of the Friars and Nuns; a large Book of which was collected by the Visitors, and is sunk by *Dugdale, Tanner*, and all the Advocates for *Monkery*.

Why do the Lovers of Antiquity so much seek after, and admire the Antiquities of *Rome*, but because they are perfect *Models of Sculpture and Design*, because they give Light to the Histories of the most glorious Ages of the World, and not because they are broken Stones and Mortars? The *Antiquities* of our Monasteries are as barbarous as
the

the Ages which produc'd them. Their best Histories a parcel of Legends and Fictions, Miracles and Visions, Dreams and Revelations. What is best among them, is transplanted into Histories, better digested, and of better Credit. There has been more useful Learning discover'd since the Reformation, than in all the Centuries preceding it, since the Birth of our Saviour; and the Monkish Advocates are not so solicitous for polite Literature, of which they have little Taste, as for groping in Records that speak of the Power and Grandeur of the *Church*, for which the Monks were a *Standing Force*, as I have already observ'd, always in Pay, if not in Arms.

The Poison infus'd by *Camden*, *Dugdale*, &c. into the Minds of the People, concerning the Sanctity of the Monks and their Houses, and the great Loss the Nation suffer'd by it, will be expell'd, by reading *Dr. Burnet's* most excellent History of the *Reformation*; a Work which deserv'd the uncommon Honour it met with; the Reverend Author having the Thanks of the *Parliament* for writing it; and yet he has been charg'd by some *Academicks*, for want of *Candour and Ingenuity*, Endowments that never yet were pretended to be acquir'd in a College. *The Abbey Chronicles*, says the learned and pious Historian, *were written by Men who were more credulous than judicious, and so they are often more particular in the Recitals of Trifles, than of important Affairs; and an invincible Humour of Lying, when it might raise the Credit of their Order or House, runs through all their Manuscripts*: Yet you find the Ecclesiastical Writers groan under the Calamity of losing them; And indeed some of them have so little good Learning, that they may well envy the little the Monks had.

A. D.
1546.
Edw. VI.

The Reign of *Edward* the Sixth was so short, and so full of *Church History*, that we must again refer the Reader to *Dr. Burnet's*, where he will find no such terrible Description of the demolishing of Churches to build *Somerset-House*, as he will meet with in *Mr. Echard*.

The Duke of *Somerset*, Protector of the King and Kingdom, was a zealous Reformer, and has been treated by the Papists, as they were wont to treat such as oppose their Superstition, with Falseness and foul Language.

“To erect this Fabrick, the Historian tells you, he pull’d down the *Virgin Mary's Church*, and Three Bishops Houses in the *Strand*: He resolv’d also to pull down *St. Margaret's Westminster*; but the Mob rose upon the Workmen, who remov’d to *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and demolish’d a regular Cloyster, Two Chapels, and a fair Charnel-House, to carry on the Building in the *Strand*, leaving the Bones of the dead Bodies to be bury’d in the Fields”. I leave it to the Reader to judge, whether such Malice could come originally from any one but an inveterate Papist. He goes on, “Lastly, the Steeple, and the greatest Part of the Church of *St. John of Jerusalem*, near *Smithfield*, was pull’d down for the Stones. And after all, it was unaccountably strange, that having demolish’d Two Churches, Two Chapels, and Three Episcopal Houses, to build one Palace, there should be no particular Room erected for Religious Worship.” The Episcopal Houses belong’d to the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Litchfield*, and *Landaff*, and he bargain’d with those Bishops for them. The Order of the *Knights of Jerusalem* was abolish’d, and their Church had the same Fate with other Superstitious Houses. This History of *Somerset-house*, is introduced somewhat whimsically. We had been just

just told of the Breach between the Lord Protector and his Brother the Lord Admiral, who was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. *The Protector*, says the Historian, *having now lost the chief Support of his House, design'd to repair that Ruin by erecting a magnificent Palace.* As if the Death of a Brother could be repair'd by building a House; and what Support could such a Brother be, whom Two or Three Lines before, he characteriz'd as a *Bubble, swell'd by every small Breath, and broken by every great Blast?* I have avoided reflecting on Sentiments, when they are not *Political*, to save Room, or I might have fill'd another Volume with *Criticisms* like these.

As to the building *Somerset-House*, had the Duke really committed such Devastation and Sacrilege as is pretended, is it not likely that his Enemies wou'd have insert'd it in the Third Article of the Charge against him, where Mention is made of his *sumptuous and costly Palaces?* But there's not one word of his pulling down *Churches, Chapels, Charnel-Houses, &c.* to do it. And Mr. *Echard* owns, he was not charg'd with *Cruelty, Rapine, Bribery, or Sacrilege.* In which he plainly contradicts himself. For he had charg'd him with *Sacrilege*, in charging him with demolishing *Churches and Chapels* for his own private Use, and his *sacrilegious Attempts upon Bishops Lands:* His own Words. Tho' he allows him to have been a *Person of extraordinary Virtues, of great Candor and eminent Piety; always a Promoter of Justice, and a Patron of the Oppressed:* Yet when he was beheaded, he informs us, his Punishment was *believ'd to be more the Hand of Heaven.* On so virtuous, so pious, so just a Man!—Here's Coherence and Consistency! Mr. *Fox* closes his Character of him quite otherwise, in his old way. "He was of a gentle Disposition, not coveting

“ to be reveng’d; more apt and ready to be de-
 “ ceiv’d than to deceive. His ancient Love and
 “ Zeal of the Gospel, and of Religion, he
 “ brought with him to the State of his high Dig-
 “ nity. The Proof whereof sufficiently was seen
 “ in his constant standing to God’s Faith, and
 “ zealous Defence thereof against the Bishops,
 &c. The last Part of Mr. Fox’s Account of him,
 lets us into the whole Secret of Mr. Echard’s
 Quarrel with him. The Lord Protector was by
 no Means a Promoter of the Temporal Power of
 the Clergy, and therefore he cou’d expect no bet-
 ter Quarter from them.

I doubt not in the next Reign we shall find
 Matters much extenuated; and, as I have hinted,
 one may see what Authors are most grateful to
 our Historians, by their copying after them.

A. D.
 1553.
 Queen
 Mary.

Queen Mary began her *calamitous* and *disbonou-
 rable* Reign, as ’tis tenderly call’d, by promising
 to make no Change in Religion, and to be satisfi-
 fy’d with Liberty of Conscience to her self and
 Family; and yet very much indeed to her *Disbo-
 nour*, and the *Calamity* of the Nation, she chang’d
 it all entirely, and her Subjects were consum’d in
 the Flames blazing in all the Parts of the Kingdom,
 for not changing with it. Her Character, drawn
 by our Historian, is, *She was a Lady of great Vir-
 tues, of a generous Temper, &c.* Which agrees
 mightily with her Gratitude to the *Suffolk Men*,
 her Clemency to the Protestants, &c. Again,
*She much endeavour’d to expiate and restore the Sa-
 crileges of King Henry and King Edward.* The
 Man who writes it, is himself a Protestant, or at
 least so pretends to be. He adds, *It was a lauda-
 ble Intention in her.* The Reader must by no
 means rely on him for this Reign, but read it in
 Fox, Fuller, and Burnet.

The same Authors will be his Guide in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, which finish'd the Reformation, as it now differs from Popery; and is so full of Ecclesiastical Events, that we shall touch upon it very lightly. *The Hierarchy*, in Mr. Echard's Phrase, had all the Advantages of a Human, as well as Heavenly Establishment. He tells us farther, *She was not pleas'd with the Title of Supreme Head of the Church, as importing too sublime an Authority for a Crown'd Head*; a potent Prince descended from a long Race of Kings; observe the Air: But not for *Wolsey*, a Butcher's Son of *Ipswich*, who was twice a Candidate for the Papacy. He adds, *She lov'd Magnificence in Religion, the former Ornaments, and even Images in Churches.*

A. D.
1558.Queen
Eliza-
beth.

We find a great deal of this *Magnificence of Worship* in his History. 'Tis strange, Ministers of the Gospel should not be so well acquainted with the *Simplicity of Divine Worship*, as the Heathens were of old. Is it that they think outward Appearance will make amends for inward Insensibility; or that Vestments and Colour can do the Work of Godliness and Grace; or that Gold, Purple, and fine Linnen, are the Liveries of Heaven? For my own part, when I see such Decorations made use of by Men of Piety and Worth, they have a good Effect upon me, and increase my Reverence; but when they are the Trappings of Immorality and Ignorance, the Effect is quite contrary; and in my Mind, I immediately strip the Wearers, that they may not disgrace their Cloathing. Thus they are left the most naked Creatures in the World. We read in the Reverend and Learned Bishop Potter's *Greek Antiquities*, that the *Athenians* being worsted by the *Lacedæmonians* in many Encounters both at Land and Sea, sent to *Jupiter Hammon* to enquire

what Means they had best to use to obtain Victory over their Enemies; and withal to ask him, Why the *Athenians*, who, said they, serv'd the Gods with more *Pomp* and *Magnificence* than all the *Grecians* besides, should undergo so many Misfortunes, whilst the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Worship is so very mean and slovenly, are always crown'd with Success and Victory? The Oracle made them no other Answer, than that *the honest unaffected Service of the Lacedæmonians was more acceptable to the Gods, than all the splendid and costly Devotion of other People.*

The Historian tells us, That *Mary, Queen of Scots*, to her no small Dishonour, kept Company with *David Rizio*, an *Italian* Musician, when her Husband the Lord *Darnly* cou'd not be admitted. That *Darnly* entring her Chamber with some of his Friends, *Rizio* hung about her Wast, and was killed there: That the opening this Fountain of Blood was follow'd by a new Stream. For not many Months after, the King was first poison'd, shortly after barbarously murder'd in his Bed, the House blown up with Gunpowder, and his Body thrown out into an Orchard. Upon this we have a Piece of Secret History, to be taken upon the Author's Word, That we are not to give Credit to *Buchanan's* Account of it, notwithstanding he liv'd in the Court; who, to ingratiate himself with the *Earl of Murray*, wrote most scandalously concerning the Queen; of all which he earnestly repented, and acknowledg'd before his Death. If there's any Author of Reputation, who has furnish'd him with this Memoir, I shall have injur'd him by setting it in this Light. But there's none that was not of the *Popish* Faction, who speak of *Buchanan* in this manner; and it was after King *James* reign'd in *England*, that the *Earl of Murray*, and *Earl of Moreton*, were charg'd with the King's Death, which was before
laid

laid to Earl *Bothwell* and the Queen. I am not at all fond of the Story, and shall therefore leave it as it stands in the Histories, with observing, it is not likely so good a Man as the Earl of *Murray*, would be an Accomplice in so barbarous a Murder. For in a Page or two afterwards, upon his being assassin'd when Regent, Mr. *Echard* says, *He was so remarkable for Devotion and Piety, that ever after he was call'd by the Title of the good Regent*. Nor is it probable that *Murray* should enter into such a Conspiracy in Favour of *Bothwell*, who was to marry the Queen, and yet make it one of the Reasons for deposing her, that she protected *Bothwell*, whom the Parliament prosecuted as the Author of the King's Murther. Bishop *Burnet* informs us who were the Men that stuck by Queen *Mary*, *Professed Papists*, or Men believ'd to be indifferent as to all Religion; and who were the Party headed by *Murray* and *Moreton*, Men zealous for the Reformation, and fixed in a Dependence on the Crown of *England*, and in a Jealousy of *France*. The Reformation in *Scotland* was in a *Presbyterian* Way: The Reader therefore must not be surpriz'd, if he finds some of our Ecclesiastical Writers speak more favourably of Queen *Mary's* Party, than of the other. This Queen, though her Husband *Bothwell* was alive, in Mr. *Echard's* Words, readily accepted of the Terms of Marriage with another Husband, the Duke of *Norfolk*. The chief of the Sticklers for Queen *Mary*, was the *Romish* Bishop *Lyndington*, who exciting a Rebellion against the Government, was taken Prisoner and sent to *Leith*, where he dy'd, not without Suspicion of Poison, by the *Presbyterians* without doubt; and, continues the last cited Author, he was a Man of excellent Wit, and great Understanding; which great Understanding, and excellent Wit of his, cou'd not restrain

him from a rash and wicked Attempt to revive the intestine War which had rag'd many Years in Scotland. The next Prelate he speaks of, is the famous Bishop of Ross, the same who was imprison'd for treasonable Practices against Queen Elizabeth, while he was Agent for Mary Queen of Scots at London; and I hint this, to shew on which Side he ranges the Wits, the wise and famous Men, in his History.

A. D.
1573.

I hope the Reader has long since conceiv'd a just Idea of the Candor and Piety of this Author; and to confirm it, I shall repeat a Passage entire in the Year 1573: He is speaking of the persecuting the Puritans; "It was thought the more necessary to restrain all new Opinions and Notions, by reason of one Peter Burchet, of the Middle-Temple; who taught that it was lawful to kill any that oppos'd the Truth of the Gospel; and so strictly pursu'd that Principle by his Practice, that it brought upon him the Guile of Murder, for which he suffer'd Death according to Law.

Could any Thing be more inhuman, I will not say impious, than this Insinuation? He knows well enough the Puritans were so nam'd by their Enemies, to blacken them as Hypocrites, who pretended, as he says, to Purity. These Men were always pressing for a further Reformation, and most of them were for moderating Episcopacy. He knows, that among the Puritans were reckon'd many of the Martyrs of our Church, as Bishop Hooper, Bishop Latimer, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, &c. Many of our greatest Prelates, as Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Cox, Bishop Pilkington, and several others. Among the Divines that liv'd in Banishment in Queen Mary's Days, were Coverdale, Bale, Leaver, Sampson, Fox, Gilby, Crowley, Goodman, &c. All Puritans. Among those

those that staid in England, *Gilpin, Cartwright, Travers, Kingmill*, and others, the most Reverend and Learned Names of those Times. The latter were actually persecuted, as he mentions, but calls it the *restraining new Opinions and Notions*; and, as if they had been Breachers of Heretical, Dangerous, and Enthusiastical Tenents, he loads them with *Bourchet's Enthusiasm, Sedition, and Heresy*. He knows these Ministers did not err in Doctrine, but profess'd that of our Church; and that they were esteem'd and rever'd by the Protestant Churches all over Europe. *Calvin, Peter Martyr, Zanchy, Beza, Bullinger*, and other Ornaments of the Church of Christ, interpos'd by Letters to the Queen in Behalf of their suffering Brethren: But instead of telling you this, he tells you *Peter Bourchet* was hang'd. And whereas he would insinuate, that the Notions of the Puritans were as New, and consequently as Heretical as *Bourchet's*; he knows full well, that they are as old as the Gospel; and so far from being singular, that Nine Parts in Ten of the Christian Church, Popery excepted, did then espouse their Opinions and Notions.

One cannot help a little Warmth, when one meets with such Prevarication; especially considering the Author is not without his Interest in vilifying *Puritanism*, which oppos'd *Pluralities, Non-Residence, Ceremonies, Superiority of Bishops, Spiritual Courts*, and other Things, which cannot but offend those that have them at Heart, and in View.

The Death of *Mary Queen of Scots*, is an Event which has been often mention'd as a Blemish upon this Reign, and I shall leave it to *Historians* to controvert it. The Queen of Scots had treated by her Agents with the bloody Duke of *Guise*, to invade England with a French Army,

and *Massacre* the Protestants here, as he had done in *France*. She also kept a Correspondence with *Babington*, who was the chief Contriver of an *Assassination-Plot* against *Queen Elizabeth*, and was in almost all the Conspiracies which had disturb'd and endanger'd the Kingdom for Twenty Years together.

Babington, says *Mr. Echard*, was a *hopeful young Gentleman*, and recommended to the *Queen of Scots* by the *Bishop of Glasgow*. That Princess was condemn'd by *Popish* as well as *Protestant* Commissioners, and the Parliament address'd the *Queen* Twice, to have the Sentence put in Execution. Here the *Historian* is at great Pains to represent *Queen Elizabeth's* Reluctance in the Matter, which no doubt she heartily consented to; only, to save Appearances, acted her Part extremely well, and seem'd forc'd and surpriz'd into it. Her sacrificing a faithful Servant, *Davison*, Secretary of State, to *Policy*, is indeed the greatest Blemish of her Reign. It is well *Brantome's* History of the *Scots Queen* had not fall'n into our *Historian's* Hands. We should have had a more dismal *Tragedy* than himself has represented it. *Brantome* writes thus; *Le Bourreau la deschaussa & la mania par tout a sa discretion. On doute s'il luy en fit de mesme comme ce miserable dans les cent nouvelles de la Reine de Navarre*. He insinuates, that the Hangman ravish'd her, after he had cut off her Head. And adds, that the Cloth was torn off a *Billiard-Table*, to fling over the Corpse; which was salted, instead of being embalm'd, if we may believe *Brantome*.

Our *Historian*, speaking of *King James* her Son's Conduct on this melancholy Event, puts one in a terrible Fright; *He breath'd out nothing but Resentments and Revenge*. What a Consternation must the People of *England* be in, when they heard

heard of it? The French Historian assures us, Queen Elizabeth was under no manner of Concern about the Consequence of the Scots Queen's Death, not only with respect to her Son's Resentment and Revenge, but that of the French King, and the Guises her Cousins; *Car non seulement elle ne voulut passer par l'advis de ceux de son Royaume, mais de plusieurs grands Princes & Seigneurs Protestans tant d'Allemagne que de France, comme le feu Prince de Conde & Casimir, & le feu Prince d'Orange, & autres qui signerent cette morte violente.* "For not only she would do nothing without the Consent of her Parliament, but she consulted the Protestant Princes, and great Lords of Germany and France, as the late Prince of Conde, Prince Casimir, the Prince of Orange, and others, who sign'd to her Execution."

Mr. Echard assures us, she was a Princess firm and constant to her Religion, and of singular Piety towards God: And a Line or two after; That some believ'd her Misfortunes to proceed from the Vengeance of Heaven, for such secret Crimes of hers, &c. His Account of Queen Elizabeth's Behaviour, upon the News of the Scots Queen's Death, gives one equal Pleasure and Amazement: She little imagin'd such Severity had been acted, though she had sign'd a Warrant for her Execution; she heard it with such a Mixture of Grief and Indignation, that her Countenance grew pale, her Speech falter'd, her Spirits fail'd, and she was under such Astonishment and Confusion, that she had no Enjoyment of her Life.

If the good Man thinks she was in Earnest, I know what to think of his Judgment; and what of his Integrity, if he did not think it.

Whatever is the Reason of it, not only our Historian, but other Writers of his Profession, even

even now that King *James* the First has been dead 100 Years, are always deploring the hard Fate of his Mother *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. At first they did it to compliment her Son; and for some Time it was little less than Treason, to justify her Execution.

It must be own'd, 'twas a great Blow to all *Jure Divino* Principles; and she was a most cruel Enemy to *Presbyterians*, which doubtless has got her many a good Word from these *Ecclesiastical* Writers.

Our last Protestant Queen *Mary*, whose adorable Virtues will make her Memory for ever dear to all good *Englishmen*, though she had more Reason to resent any hard Sayings against her Ancestor the *Scots* Queen, than all our *History-Writers*, spoke more plainly than any of them; Asking Dr. *Burnet* why King *James* her Father was so sharpn'd against *Monsieur Jurieu*: The Doctor told her it was, among other Things, for some Indecencies spoken of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, which cast Reflections upon them that descended from her. That Divine Princess reply'd, *Jurieu* must support the Cause he defends, and expose those that persecuted it in the best way he can. If what he says of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* be true, he is not to be blamed who made that Use of it. Her Royal Highness added, If Princes will do ill Things, they must expect the World will take revenge of their Memory, since they cannot reach their Persons: That is but a small Suffering, far short of what others suffer at their Hands. Sentiments so just and angelical, as shews how much superior a true Christian Spirit is to all human Wisdom and Philosophy.

King *James* of *Scotland* having marry'd *Anne*, the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter, that Lady in her Passage met with prodigious Storms, which,

says Mr. Ecbard, many believ'd were rais'd by Magicke and Witchcraft; on Account, I suppose, of the Neighbourhood to Lapland, where Business is generally done by them.

For this Period read,

Sir Robert Howard's *Richard II.*

Hayward's *Henry IV.*

Godwin's *Henry V.*

Habington's *Edward IV.*

Sir Tho. More's *Edward V. Richard III.*

Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Henry VIII.*

Hayward's and Godwin's *Edward VI. Queen Mary.*

Cambden's *Queen Elizabeth.*

Trussell.

Hall.

Hollinshed.

Speed.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Church History of England, from Richard the Second's Reign, to the End of Queen Elizabeth's.

THE English Reader must not think, that even in the darkeſt Times of Popery, there were no Men of Senſe and Piety, who had a juſt Notion of the Pretences of the Inferior Clergy.

In the Parliament holden A. D. 1393, there was a Book of Concluſions exhibited, which will appear

appear to be very Orthodox, particularly the Second. I shall give it in the old Form and Stile.

“ Our usual Priesthood, which took his Original at Rome, and fained to be a Power higher than Angels, is not that Priesthood which Christ ordained unto his Disciples. The Romish Priesthood is done with Signs, and Pontifical Rites and Ceremonies, and Benedictions of no Force and Effect, neither having any Ground in Scripture. For as much as the Bishops Ordinal and the New Testament does nothing at all agree, neither do we see that the Holy Ghost doth give any good Gift thorough any such Signs or Ceremonies; because that he, together with all noble and good Giftes, cannot consist and be in anie Person with deadlie Sinne. It is therefore a lamentable and dolorous Mockery unto wise Men, to see the Bishops mock and play with the Holy Ghost, in the giving of their Orders. Their Character is the Marke of Antichrist, brought into Holie Church to cloke and colour their Idleness. How does this agree with Apostolical Succession, *Jure Divino*, and some modern Academical Decrees and Topicks? These Conclusions occasion'd the writing a Letter from the Bishops and Clergy to the Archbishop of York, then with Richard the Second in Ireland, to hasten his Return to defend and succour the True Faith, and Holy Church, that were in great Danger of being ruin'd by Hereticks, who were contriving to overthrow Canonical Sanctions. Thus they annex'd to their Persons, True Faith, Holy Church, and Canonical Sanctions.

Ex, Vol. I.
p. 662.

This weak King came back immediately, and being a fit Tool for that Archbishop to work with, the Opposers of the Papal Tyranny and Idolatry were

were severely treated by him. And the Chief, as the Lords Clifford, Latimer, and Montacute, threatn'd highly for promoting the Conclusions.

In the Reign of Henry IV. Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been very instrumental in the Revolution which had happen'd, obtain'd of the King a most cruel Decree against William Sawtry, a Wicklivist, who was burnt in Smithfield, A. D. 1400. and is the first who suffer'd by Fire for his Religion in England. When that bloody Persecutor Arundel examin'd another Holy Man, William Thorp, he us'd these Expressions, alluding to his being forc'd to fly the Kingdom in King Richard's Reign: *Wherefore I went out of England, is unknown to thee; but be this Thing well known to thee, that God, as I wot well, hath called me again, and brought me into this Land to destroy thee, and that false Sect that thou art of, as by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall leave not a Slip of you in this Land.* This is the goodly Prelate who order'd several of his Kentish Tenants to do Penance, for not bringing him Fodder for his Horses by Cartloads, but as much as they could carry on their Backs. Thus, if there was any thing in Penance, he prostituted a Religious Duty to his own poultry Interest. There's a merry Rhyme or Two in Foxe, on the Procession and Punishment of those Kentish Tenants.

A. D.
1400.

*This Bag full of Straw I bear on my Back,
Because my Lord's Horse his Litter did lack:
If ye be not good to my Lord's Grace's Horse,
Ye are like to go barefoot before the Cross.*

His Proceedings against Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, whom the King had highly favour'd for his Bravery and Virtue, are at large
in

in Foxe, and have fix'd indelible *Infamy* on his Name. In the same Synod which condemn'd the Lord Cobham for Heresy, Mr. Echard informs us, the Archbishop enacted that *Heretical Decree*, that the *Scriptures should not be translated into the English Tongue*. And it is remarkable that not long after, the same cruel Archbishop was seiz'd with a Distemper in his Tongue, which so excessively swell'd it, that it quite depriv'd him of his Speech, and shortly after put an end to his Life. One of Sir John Oldcastle's Answers to the Archbishop was very bold, and suitable to his manly Character: Being question'd touching the Authority of the Keys, he said, *The Pope is very Antichrist, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, be his Members, and the Fryars his Tail. The which Pope, Archbishop, and Bishops, a Man ought not to obey, but so far as they be Followers of Christ in their Life, Manners, and Conversation; be being the Successor of St. Peter, who is best and purest in Manners and Life.* The Priests, to set King Henry the Fifth against this brave Man, charged him with *Seditious Attempts against the Government*; of which the *Martyrologist* clears him entirely, and charges the Clergy of these Days with procuring by that Means, the terrible Act *de Hæretico comburendo*, for burning Lollards, a Term the *Wickliviſts* went by: "It manifestly
 " appears by all the Arguments, says he, and the
 " whole Purport of the Statute, that as well the
 " Preamble and Preface thereof, as the whole Bo-
 " dy of the Statute was made and framed, and pro-
 " cured only by and thorough the Instigation,
 " Information and Excitation of the Prelates and
 " Popish Priests, to whom Henry the Fifth was
 " a great Patron, as our Historian observes a-
 " mong his extraordinary Qualities; but omits a
 " Reflection which would have done Honour to his
 glo-

glorious Memory, that probably he patroniz'd those Prelates and Priests, to keep them and his Kingdom quiet at Home, while he was Abroad intent upon the Conquest of *France*. He well knew how dangerous it was, not to have them in his Interests, during a long Foreign War, and humour'd them so much in their Superstition and Cruelty, that he was term'd *Princeps Sacerdotum*. And we read in *Foxe* what was the Effect of it; *As true Piety and sincere Preaching of Christ's Word began to decay, so idle Monkery and vain Superstition began to increase.*

“ The Clergy, says *Bishop Burnet*, making an
 “ ill Use of the Laws against *Lollards*, and vex-
 “ ing all People that gave them any Offence with
 “ long Imprisonments, the Judges interpos'd,
 “ and examin'd the Grounds of their Commit-
 “ ments. Thus the People sought for Shelter
 “ under their Protection, and found more Mercy
 “ at the Hands of common Lawyers, than from
 “ them who ought to have been the Pastors of
 “ their Souls, and the Publishers of the most
 “ merciful Religion that ever was. *Again;*

“ In the Primitive Church, all cruel Proceed-
 “ ings upon the Account of Heresy were con-
 “ demn'd. Banishment, and Fines, and some
 “ Incapacities, were the highest Severities even
 “ upon the greatest Provocations. But as the
 “ Church grew corrupted in other Things, so a
 “ cruel Spirit being generally the Mark of all
 “ ill Priests of whatsoever Religion they are, they
 “ fell under the Influences of it. Burning agreed
 “ best with their Cruelty, as being the most ter-
 “ rible Sort of Death, and bearing some Resem-
 “ blance to everlasting Burnings in Hell; so they
 “ damn'd the Souls of the Hereticks, and burnt
 “ their Bodies: But the Execution of the for-
 “ mer

“mer Part of the Sentence was not in their
 “Power, as the latter Part was.

During the Minority of *Henry VI.* when the Princes and chief Lords were carrying on the War in *France*, the Priests had a full Swinge of Persecution, and several godly Ministers and others were burnt. The Statute took place, and the Clergy were very busy in lighting up their Bonfires, and exercising their Power without Conscience or Mercy, till a Stop was put to it by the *Reformation*. The History of which is so admirably well written by the late Bishop of *Salisbury*, that the Reader will need no other Light, and I shall only mention a few things which happen'd in the Course of it. Let us take a View of the State of the Church before the *Reformation* was accomplish'd: Let us see in what Hands the *Reformers* found the Keys, when they began their heavenly Work, and if the Parochial Clergy have any Reason to value themselves upon an Apostolical Succession so deliver'd down to them.

“The Bishops were grossly ignorant, *says the*
 “*last mention'd Reverend Father of our Church.*
 “They seldom resided in their Dioceses, except
 “it had been to riot at high Festivals; and all
 “the Effect their Residence could have, was to
 “corrupt others by their Example. They fol-
 “low'd the Courts of Princes, and aspir'd to the
 “greatest Offices. The Abbots and Monks were
 “wholly given up to Luxury and Idleness, and
 “the unmarried State both of the Seculars and Re-
 “gulars gave infinite Scandal to the World; for
 “it appear'd, that the restraining them from ha-
 “ving Wives of their own, made them conclude
 “that they had a Right to all other Mens. The
 “inferior Clergy were no better; and not ha-
 “ving Places of Retreat to conceal their Vices
 “in, as the Monks had, they became more pub-
 “lick.

“lick. In sum, all Ranks of *Churchmen* were so
 “universally despis’d and hated, that the World
 “was very apt to be possess’d against their Do-
 “ctrines for the Sake of the Men, whose Inte-
 “rest it was to support them; and the Worship
 “of God was so defil’d with much gross Super-
 “stition, that without great Enquiries all Men
 “were easily convinc’d, that the Church stood
 “in great Need of a *Reformation*.

May not one very reasonably suspect, that it is not in the Power of Men to convey to others, that which they have not themselves; or whether the *Holy Ghost* could dwell among so many Abominations? Yet the inferior Clergy had rather owe their *Divine Right* to a pretended Succession from this wicked Generation, than to the Laws of the Land, by which their Right is truly and only *Divine*; and if they wou’d be satisfy’d with their legal Tenure, no body wou’d grudge them what they possess by it.

In the Beginning of *Henry the VIIIth’s* Reign, the *Lollards* were burnt in many Places. One of the most zealous *Persecutors* was *Fitzjames*, Bishop of *London*, whose cruel Processes may be seen at large in *Fox*, Vol. II. Yet of this Man does the *Oxonian Wood* say, *His good Deeds trod upon his Heels even to Heaven Gates*; and speaking of *Farrer* the martyr’d Bishop of *St. David’s*, he tells us, *By the Example of Cranmer, he learned to get himself a Woman also under the Name of a Wife*; that is, Archbishop *Cranmer* and Bishop *Farrer*, both *Martyrs* of our Church, kept a *Couple of Whores*: For what else are Women under the Name only of Wives? Such Treatment as this do all the first Reformers meet with from him, and other *Academicks* of his Principles. *Martyrdom* it self cannot defend them from the Scandal and Malice of these *Enemies to Moderation and Charity*, but

Adorers of the Spirit of *Bigotry* and *Persecution*. Whoever has the *Curiosity* to see what *Sentiments* such Men have of the *Book of Martyrs*, and its Author, need only read *A. Wood's Athen. Oxon.* p. 591, 592, where Mr. Fox is more baited than ever he was by the *Jesuits*. *Henry VIII.* was so zealous at first for *Popery*, that he got somebody to write a *Book* against *Luther*, and he put his Name to it. For tho' *Bishop Burnet* does not speak with his usual *Freedom* of this *Deceit* of the King's, yet Fox leaves it without *Question*: *This Book*, to use his old Phrase, *albeit it carried the King's Name in the Title, yet it was another that ministred the Motion, another that framed the Stile*; as was the Case of a *Kingly Author* in our *Fathers Time*.

After some Steps had been made in the *Reformation*, *Archbishop Cranmer* offer'd several *Articles* to shew the *Cheats* that had been put upon the *World*.

“ As, that *Priestly Absolution* without *Contrition* was of more *Efficacy* than *Contrition* without *Absolution*.

“ That the *People* trusted wholly to outward *Ceremonies*; in which the *Priests* encourag'd them, because of the *Gain* they made by them.

“ That the *Exemption* of *Clergymen* was without good *Ground*.

“ That *Bishops* did ordain without due *Care*, and previous *Trial*.

If so, that certainly must so far give *Interruption* to *Succession*.

“ And that the dignify'd *Clergy* misapply'd their *Revenues*, &c.

He earnestly press'd the King to a farther *Reformation*; and that nothing should be determin'd without clear *Proof* from *Scripture*. But he was not heard in these so successfully as in other *Matters*.

In

In a Book of Religion, set out by the Bishops in the Year 1540, we meet with a Definition of a Church, which some modern Churchmen must needs condemn as *Puritanical* and *Schismatical*. It runs thus : *It comprehends all the Assemblies of Men in the whole World that receive the Faith of Christ, who ought to hold an Unity and brotherly Agreement together, by which they become Members of the Catholick Church.* By this Definition, *Christians* of whatever Denomination, nay, the very *Dissenters* of England, are of the *Catholick Church*, and pray'd for as such in our Church Service ; tho' in the Sermons they are often unchurch'd and given up to *Divine Vengeance*. These Prelates did not make Ordination by the Successors of the Apostles absolutely necessary to qualify a Man for the Cure of Souls.

In this Reign we have an Instance of the little Dependance that is to be made on the Oaths of superstitious and factious Bigots. One *Forrest* a Friar, who had been Confessor to King *Henry's* first Wife Queen *Katharine*, having taken the Oath of *Supremacy*, and acted afterwards against it, said, when he was charg'd with it, *He had taken the Oath for it with his outward Man, but his inward Man had never consented to it.* Thus certain of the inferior Clergy in our Times have taken the Oaths to his Majesty, and to excuse their undutiful Behaviour afterwards, have declar'd, *They took them in their own Sense.* But God will not be mock'd ; and were they Sinners in this only, we cou'd not without trembling think of their dying in Impenitence. This Wretch was so impious, as to deny the Gospel at the Stake ; for he was burnt in *Smithfield*, where *Papists* and *Protestants* suffer'd Death together ; the latter for denying *Transubstantiation*, the former

for denying the *Supremacy*. Upon which a Foreigner cry'd out, *Deus bone! quomodo hic vivunt Gentes. Hic suspenduntur Papistæ, illic comburuntur Antipapistæ!* Good God! how do the People act here; on one hand the Papists are hang'd, on the other Antipapists are burnt. And indeed King Henry had such a Mixture in his Council, both Sides were always making Reprizals upon one another.

Protestants.

Canterbury.
Suffolk.
Viscount Beauchamp.
Viscount Lisle.
Russel, Treasurer.
Paget.
Sadler.
Audley.

Papists.

Winchester.
Durham.
Norfolk.
Southampton.
Anthony Browne.
William Powlet.
John Baker.
Richard Wingfield.

The short Reign of King Edward VI. produces great Alterations for the better in the State of the Church; and it is not to be doubted, but if that Religious King had liv'd long enough, he would have gone much farther in that good Work by the Advice of *Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer, Poyntet*, and other Pious and Learned Prelates. *Pluralities* were a general Scandal at that Time; and Bishop *Burnet* instructs us how to think of such as hold them now. "A Corruption, says he, of
"so crying and scandalous a Nature, that when-
"ever it is practis'd, it is sufficient to possess the
"People against the Church that is guilty of it;
"there being nothing more contrary to the plain-
"est Impressions of Reason, than that every
"Man, who undertakes a Cure of Souls, whom
"at his Ordination he has vowed that he would
"in-

“ instruct, ought to discharge that Trust him-
 “ self, which is the greatest and most important
 “ of all others”. Yet what is more common
 than to have Incumbents hold Two or Three Be-
 nefices at a Time? Nay, I have heard of one,
 and that a very ordinary one too, who held so
 many as to procure him the *Ironical* Title of the
Angel of the Seven Churches. The Grievance is
 the more crying, for that some of these Incum-
 bents are of so mean Capacities, as to be hardly
 qualify’d for the Cure of one Flock, whose Fleece
 one may see plainly is the only Thing aim’d at.

The *Injunctions* given to Bishops about *Ordina-
 tion* at that Time are an excellent Lesson in all
 Times, especially ours. Bishop *Burnet* writes thus
 of them.

“ The Injunctions to the Bishops, directing
 “ them to give Orders with great Caution, point-
 “ ed out that by which only a Church can be
 “ preserv’d from Errors and Corruptions. For
 “ when Bishops do easily, upon Recommenda-
 “ tions, or emendicated Titles, confer Orders,
 “ as a Sort of Favour that is at their Disposal, the
 “ ill Effects of that must be fatal to the Church,
 “ either by the Corruptions that these vicious
 “ Priests will be guilty of, or by the Scandals
 “ which are given to some good Minds by their
 “ means, who are thereby disgusted at the Church
 “ for their Sakes, and so are dispos’d to be easily
 “ drawn into those Societies that separate from
 “ it.

Every Reader will immediately ask himself,
 What do I know of this Kind? Have not I met
 with some too young, some too mean, some too
 ignorant and illiterate, some too pragmatical and
 immoral, who have been serv’d by *Recommenda-
 tions* and emendicated Titles?

It must be own'd, since the *Revolution* most of the Reverend Fathers of our Church have proceeded with great Caution; and the Complaint is chiefly in those Places, where Disaffection to the Government has been too little discountenanc'd. The Persons ordain'd by such *Titles* and *Recommendations* are the Men who complain most of the Irreverence and Disregard paid to their Function; wherein they are wilfully mistaken, that Disregard and Irreverence are to their Want of Virtue and Merit. Where Persons do Honour to their Function themselves, it will always be highly honour'd by others; and I appeal to the great Body of Pious and Worthy Divines of our Church, whether any of them can reasonably complain of Want of Regard and Respect to their sacred Character. Bishop *Burnet* in another Place renews this Discourse on the former Abuses in Ordination.

“ Too many consider it only as a Ceremony
 “ in Law necessary to make them capable of some
 “ Place of Profit, and not as the Dedication of
 “ their Lives and Labours to God, and to the
 “ gaining of Souls. It were happy for the
 “ Church, if Bishops wou'd not think it enough
 “ barely to put these Questions, but would use
 “ Great Strictness in examining before-hand the
 “ Motives that set on those that come to be ordain'd. By another Sponsion they plight to God
 “ for the Care of Souls to be manag'd by them
 “ in Person; and upon that they must find the
 “ Pastoral Care to be a Load indeed, and so will
 “ neither desert their Flocks, nor hire them
 “ out to weak and perhaps scandalous Mercenaries.

So far the Learned and Pious Bishop. I have not in all this Treatise ventur'd upon so much Freedom, as being not so well authoriz'd to speak freely

freely of such Abuses, which will be call'd railing at the Clergy; for the Guilty will always confound themselves with the Innocent, and tell you they are as much privileg'd against Animadversion, as the most Worthy and most Conscientious Divines.

Latimer, in a Sermon before the King, did not seem content with the Stop put to the Reformation, but press'd the setting up the *Primitive Discipline*. *Cranmer* sent for *Bucer*, to consult him about the Use of *Episcopal Vestments*, which *Hooper*, when he was nominated Bishop of Gloucester, scrupled to wear. *Bucer* was of Opinion, *That since these Garments had been abus'd to Superstition, and were like to become a Subject of Contention, they should be taken away by a Law, and that Ecclesiastical Discipline, and a more compleat Reformation might be set up.* These Matters are handled at large in *Dr. Burnet's Hist. Ref. Vol. II.* *Bucer* being also consulted about the Common-Prayer Book, said, *He wish'd there might be not only a Denunciation against scandalous Persons coming to the Sacrament, but a Discipline to exclude them; which seems not to be very consistent with modern Usages in Civil Cases.*

“ He would have had *Habits* laid aside, and no
 “ Part of the Communion-Office us'd, except when
 “ there was a *Sacrament*. He advis'd a Change
 “ of some *Phrases* in that Office. He thought
 “ the holiing the Water in *Baptism* too *scenical*.
 “ He approv'd not of Godfathers answering in
 “ the Child's Name; and thought there should
 “ be a great Strictness us'd in the examining
 “ those who came to receive Orders. He press'd
 “ the Sanctification of the *Lord's Day*, the ap-
 “ pointing many Days of Fasting, and that *Plu-*
 “ *ralities* and *Non-residences* might be effectually

“condemn’d. That *Bishops* might throw off secular Affairs, take care of their *Dioceses*, and govern them by the Advice of their *Presbyters*. That there might be *Rural Bishops* over twenty or thirty *Parishes*”. King *Edward* was very much pleas’d with his Advice, and, says *Bishop Burnet*, upon that began himself to form a Scheme for amending many Things that were amiss, and intended to set up a *Church-Discipline*. But whatever *Bucer*, *Cranmer*, King *Edward*, *Bishop Burnet*, and other Heads and Ornaments of our *Church* thought, Mr. *Echard* thinks otherwise, and is very positive that *Divine Worship* was reduc’d to a fit Medium between the Pomp of Superstition, and a naked Flatness. If by Flatness he understands Purity and Simplicity, there’s no Medium between them and Superstition: If by Flatness he means Dulness and Insensibility, let him deal with them as he pleases.

In Queen *Mary*’s dreadful Reign, the Spirit of angry Ecclesiasticks prevail’d in a most terrible manner. The more considerable *Papists* were against the Fires that blaz’d all over the Kingdom, to consume their honest Neighbours for worshipping God according to their Consciences. Cardinal *Pole*, tho’ provok’d by the Treatment he had met with in *Henry* the Eighth’s Reign, declar’d himself an Enemy to all severe Proceedings. “He thought *Churchmen* should have the Tenderness of a Father, and the Care of a *Shepherd*, and ought to reduce, but not to devour the stray Sheep. He had observ’d, that Cruelty rather inflam’d, than cur’d the Distemper. He thought the better and surer Way was, to begin with an effectual Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy”. By this it appears, that *Papists* as well as *Protestants*, if they thought seriously and conscientiously of Matters, judg’d alike as to the

the Necessity of reforming the Morals of the Ecclesiasticks; it being the shortest and surest Way to reform those of the People. Cardinal Pool said farther; "It is the Scandal given by the ill Conduct and Ignorance of the Clergy, that is the chief Cause of the Growth of Heresy; and concluded, "If a *Primitive Discipline* should be reviv'd, the Nation would by degrees lay down their Prejudices, and might in Time be gain'd by gentle Methods.

Such are the Sentiments of virtuous Men of all Religions; and the weak and vicious will always be the Reverse in every Thing. 'Tis much easier to silence *Gainfayers*, than to convince them; and to destroy, more easy than to convert them. Besides, as *Reformation* by Change of Manners is with some of these Offenders worse than *Heresy* it self, since the Work is to be begun at home, so they are for trying any way but that.

In the Beginning of this Reign, the Bishop of London made a long Speech to the Convocation, in which he compar'd *Priests* to the *Virgin Mary* in three Points, and afterwards added; *The Dignity of Priests by some means passeth the Dignity of Angels; because there is no Power given to any of the Angels to make the Body of Christ, which the least Priest may do in Earth, and the biggest Angel in Heaven cannot do: Wherefore Priests are to be honour'd before all Kings of the Earth, Princes and Nobles. For a Priest is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, and Maker of his Creator.* Such is the *Church-History* in *Queen Mary's* Reign; the Events of which are so bloody and inhuman, that it can neither give Entertainment nor Instruction, unless we learn by it to do whatever lies in our Power to prevent the like Barbarity and Tyranny falling upon us or our Posterity. The Attempt to impose a Child upon the Nation in this

Fox,
Vol. III.
p. 41.

this Queen's Time was not perhaps unsuccessful because she had none; she seem'd to have gone too far for that; but because the Child must have inherited the *Spanish* Dominions as well as the *English*. There had been Prayers and Thanksgivings for her *Conception*, and Prayers for her Breeding and happy Delivery. The *Envoys* were nam'd, who were to carry the good News to the Neighbouring Courts. Nay, the News of a Prince flew over the Kingdom, and *Te Deum* was sung upon it in several Cathedrals. The Parliament complimented the Queen with an Act, in the *Preamble* of which they acknowledge the Child that was to be born to be an Answer to their continual Prayers; and in the Body of the Bill provided for its Succession, &c. Such solemn Preparations as these made way for its Reception much better than was done by the last *Papish* Queen *Mary*; but her Husband wanted both the Sense and Spirit of King *Philip*, and suffer'd himself to be driven by his Priests on the most absurd, dangerous, and unjustifiable Experiments.

The *English* Reader will be surpriz'd to find that the *Protestant* Refugees, who fled from Queen *Mary's* fiery Persecution to *Germany*, should have any Disposition to quarrel about Things indifferent abroad, while their Brethren at home were sealing the Essentials of their Religion with their Blood. Some of these Ministers were for conforming to the foreign *Protestant* Churches in divine Service; but even then there were others, who insisted on the use of the *English Liturgy*, and went so far as to procure an Order from the Magistrates of *Strasburgh* that they should do so. Upon which a Division ensu'd, and several of the Ministers retir'd to *Geneva*. Dr. Burnet speaks thus of this Separation: Great Animosities were rais'd

rais'd by those Debates, which gave Scandal to the Strangers among whom they lived; and many reflected on the Schisms of the Novatians and Donatists that rent the Church of Africa, the one during the Persecutions, and the other immediately after they were over. What an amazing Thing is it, that when these Divines heard of nothing from *England* but Tortures, Fires and Gibbets, when their Country was reduc'd to a *Golgotha*, and become the Terror and Disgrace of the Christian World; that those who fled from it to escape the Perils with which they were threaten'd, should have so little Consideration, so little Temper, as to divide from one another, and break Christian Union for Things that were allow'd not to be of the Essence of Religion? How invincible is this Spirit, and what Hope of seeing it abated?

The History of Queen *ELIZABETH* is as glorious to her Memory, as that of her Sister is dishonourable; and the Protestant Religion was restor'd with more Ease than Queen *Mary* abolish'd it, but without Blood; and whatever Religion has its Establishment in Cruelty and Oppression, the People who profess it had certainly been much better without it.

In King *Edward* the Sixth's *Common-Prayer*, there was an express Declaration against the *Corporal Presence*, but it was left out; which does not seem to give any progress to the *Reformation*. The main Argument us'd by the *Papists* against the *Protestants* in the Beginning of this Reign, was the *Perpetual Succession* in *St. Peter's Chair*, of which much has been already said. Queen *Elizabeth* inclined to keep *Images*, and it was not without earnest Sollicitation, that she was prevail'd with to consent to have them put down.

In reading *Fox's Martyrology*, I met with a Passage which may be of Use to such as often hear
Decla-

Declamations in the Pulpit against the *Geneva Religion*, if not the *Geneva Bible*. When *Philpot* the Martyr, Archdeacon of *Winchester*, was examin'd before the Bishops the last Time; the Bishop of *Litchfield* said, *Your Church of Geneva, which ye call the Catholick Church, is that which Christ prophesied of.* Mr. *Philpot* reply'd, *I allow the Church of Geneva, and the Doctrine of the same, for it is UNA CATHOLICA & APOSTOLICA, and doth follow the Doctrine which the Apostles did preach; and the Doctrine taught and preach'd in King Edward's Days was also according to the same.*

I do not quote this, to insinuate that the Protestant Church of *England* is not as perfect in its *Doctrine and Discipline*. For I am fully satisfy'd that it is; and that such as are of another Opinion, are unhappy, if not erroneous; but I would let the *English* Reader see, that the first *Reformers* were quite different from the furious Part of the Inferior Clergy, and very justly took all *Protestants* to be of the *Catholick Church*, whether it was govern'd by *Bishops* or *Presbyters*.

I would only infer from this, that we should exercise *Charity*, and treat our Brethren with Brotherly Love, as we are all Members alike of the One Catholick and Apostolical Church. This will also teach us to be upon our Guard against those froward and ignorant Preachers, who would make us believe, that to differ from us in Opinion, is *Schismatical* and *Damnable*, though in Matters of Form and Discipline only. Such blind Teachers declaim to gratify their mean Passions, and will be found to be equally deficient in both Temper and Merit.

In the Second Year of this Queen, Visitors were sent over *England*, who requir'd the Clergy to use *Habits*, and the People to bow at the Name of

of *Jesus*; which was not alike pleasing to all: And the Neglect of *Church-Discipline* was so much complain'd of, that it set some upon *devising many new Platforms*, as Dr. Burnet informs us.

A Design was laid to regulate *Excommunications*, and not leave them in mercenary and scandalous Hands, such as the Dependants on *Spiritual Courts*; of which the same Reverend Author speaks thus: "The Government of the Church had long been perform'd by *Lay Hands*, who had expos'd its Authority to the Contempt of the Nation, by which the Reverence to Holy Things is in so great a Measure lost, that *Excommunication*, the most dreadful of all Censures, is now become the most scorn'd and despis'd. But, upon what Reason it cannot be known, this was not carry'd on with that Zeal, nor brought to that Perfection which was necessary.

Nor can we see any more Reason for not perfecting so good a Work now, than for neglecting it then. The Vexations which the hated Officials of these scorn'd and despis'd Censures give the weak and fearful, for Trifles and *temporal Offences*, are a Scandal to every Thing that's *Spiritual*; and their Processes have so little of Religion or Reason in them, that it is almost miraculous to have them still subsisting in a Protestant Country.

Mr. Echard, and others, when they speak of the Differences unhappily continuing amongst us in religious Matters, always represent those that differ from themselves, as Broachers of *Novelties*, and *Starters* of new Notions. They never tell you, these Controversies are as old as the *Reformation*, and perhaps much older. And that in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, they took Root by that Queen's countenancing such as were for the *Pomp* and

and *Magnificence* of Worship, and by the *Obstinacy* of such as were against them. Many of the chief Divines were *Puritans*, and many more severe Sticklers for *Rites* and *Ceremonies*. Among the former were *Hooper, Latimer, Farrer, Harley, Taylor, Poynt, Grindal, Sands, Parkhurst, Cox, Pilkington, Horn, Jewel, Bishops; Nowel, Whittingham, Humpbreys, Sampson, Deans*; and others. Among the latter, *Parker, Whitgift, Elmer, Cooper, Bridges, Bancroft, Bishops; Sutcliff, Cofins, Stanhope, Doctors; Mr. Hooker, &c.* The Laity also took Party. The chief of those who favour'd the *Puritans*, were the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Leicester*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amias Paulet*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Mr. *Beal*, and several leading Members of the House of Commons. Opposite to these were the Lords Chancellors, *Hatton* and *Bromley*, the Lord Keeper *Puckering*, Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, &c. As the one or the other prevail'd, there were Ease or Vexation to the *Puritans*. The Pulpit and the Press were employ'd on both Sides, but that of *Severity* became unpopular, and succeeded accordingly in the next Century.

There's hardly one of the *Puritan* Divines, but has the Character of an Hypocrite, or Block-head, in *A. Wood's Athen. Oxon.* while some of the Monkish Saints are characteriz'd as if they were really what the Monks represented them. The Reader need only run over what he says of Dean *Whittingham*, and Saint *Cuthbert*, to have full Satisfaction as to the Opinions and Principles of that *Oxonian* and others.

When Archbishop *Whitgift* put out the Three Articles about the *Common-Prayer, Ordination,*
and

and the Thirty-Nine *Articles*, obliging all Ministers to *subscribe* them, Mr. *Echard* in one Place tells us, he was oppos'd only by *Factionous Ministers*. He might as well have said, he was oppos'd only by *opposing Ministers*, for *Opposition* and *Faction* are here the very same Thing. In another Place we are told, The *Noblemen* also oppos'd him, and promoted *undeserving Persons*. *Undeserving* is there also another Word for *opposing*: But this good and active Bishop, which must be translated into *Bigotted* and *Persecuting*, for that is the true English of it, by his *Constancy, Courage, and Patience*, overcame all *Difficulties*. The Truth is, he turn'd out a great Number of pious and learned Clergymen, which he terms *overcoming all Difficulties*. And *A. Wood* has explain'd how he overcame them, in the Case of *John Penry*, M. A. of *St. Alban-Hall, Oxford*. He was forc'd to fly the Kingdom from this active and good Bishop, and returning some Time afterwards, was seiz'd at *Stepney*. The Archbishop order'd him to be try'd for writing and publishing certain Books, and being found *Guilty*, he was condemn'd to be hang'd. Here's Goodness and Activity! and was accordingly executed at *St. Thomas a Watering*; when he look'd least for the same, says *A. Wood*, then was he brought forth, being at Dinner, by a Warrant under the Hands of *John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper, and Sir John Popham, Lord Chief-Justice*; and the Matter being carried after a Close Manner, he was suddenly conveyed to the Place of Execution, where he was as hastily bereav'd of his Life. Here's Activity with a Vengeance; and not suffer'd, tho' he desired it, to make Declaration of his Faith towards God, or of his Allegiance to her Majesty. A Page or Two before, *A. Wood* gives this Character of Mr. *Penry*, He was esteem'd by many a tale-

tolerable Scholar, an edifying Preacher, and a good Man; but being a Person full of Welsh Blood, it was convenient to make an End of him in this Way.

Among *Echard's Factious Ministers*, were *Walter Travers*, B. D. Lecturer of the *Temple* when *Mr. Hooker* was Master, and being remov'd by *Whitgift*, Dr. *Loftus* Archbishop of *Dublin*, procur'd him the *Prevoftship* of *Trinity College* near that City.

Mr. Dudley Fenner, Minister of the *Engliſh Church* at *Middleburgh*, driven thither by this *Bishop's Activity*.

Mr. William Clerke, who wrote againſt *Campian* and *Parſons*, the *Jefuits*, with Succels.

Mr. John Reynolds of *Oxford*, *Mr. William Whitaker* of *Cambridge*; Men of profound Learning and in great Eſteem.

I have a long Liſt of ſuch Names and Characters as theſe, which our *Historian* represents as a Parcel of hot factious Fellows; and the *Engliſh Reader* will be careful how he takes his or *Heylin's Word* on the like Occaſion.

For this Church History, read

Fox's Martyrology.

Fuller's Eccleſiaſtical History.

Burnet's History of the Reformation.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Histories of England, from the
Death of Queen Elizabeth, to the
REVOLUTION in 1688.

I Am come now to that Period of the *English* History, in which the Reader will think himself most concern'd, for that himself or his Fathers might probably bear a Part in it. The Events at least are so fresh in Memory, or so lately transacted, that the *Historian* will have the more difficult Task to impose upon him; yet by *Glosses, Misrepresentations, false Lights, Sophistical Arguments, and bold Assertions*, so it happens, that we have no History of the *Four following Reigns* upon which the *English* Reader can depend, as I shall endeavour to prove in the remaining Part of this Treatise.

The many Advantages Bishop *Burnet* had above his Contemporaries to undertake such a Work, were a great Temptation to him to make the best Use of them. He told me himself, that he was but about *Twenty Years Old*, when the Accidents of his Life made him acquainted with the Springs and Motions of the most important Events; and it continu'd thus with him to his
L Death.

Death. He lamented it as his Misfortune, and as so much Time lost from his sacred Function; for which he could not tell how better how to atone, than by giving the World the *Memoirs* he had collected from his own Knowledge, and that of his Friends. The Examples and Lessons of Virtue and Wisdom, which his *History* produc'd, would, he hop'd, be a Means to excite Imitation in well-dispos'd Minds. And to deter others from wicked Acts, he set such as had been guilty of them in their proper Light, and shew'd the Ruin and Infamy which they brought upon the Actors.

Indeed such sort of Histories as his, are the most likely to have the Effect he intended. The Pictures are all Originals, and the Likeness touches and engages in the most sensible Manner; whereas there's no Life, no Colour, in the dead Draughts of your *Copiers, Collectors, and Compilers*, who have lately usurp'd the Name of *Historians*. Men of small Learning and Parts, and less Knowledge of Persons and Things, have set up for Writers of *History*, and think there's no other Qualification necessary than a smooth Stile, in which too they are very often mistaken, and for Smoothness fall into Affectation.

Far from having Opportunities or Credit enough to procure authentick *Manuscripts*, most of our Modern *History-Writers* content themselves with the Copies of *Common Records, Gazettes, News-Papers, and Pamphlets*; stuffing their Pieces with long *Speeches* in Parliament, *Votes* of the House of *Commons*, and even *Proclamations*. Some of them have copy'd these noble Materials *Verbatim*, as will be frequently found in the Four last Reigns of the *Compleat History of England*, than which nothing can be more *uncompleat*; and Archdeacon *Echard* is not free from the like Imputation,

putation, though not so guilty as the Writer of those Reigns. Where they have added any Thing of their own, it has been from publick Fame, or private Hearsay; not from Persons who transacted Matters, who were in the Secret of Council, or Friends to such as were; but from old Women, Boys, and Men of like Credit in the Tell-tale Way; of which the most flagrant Instance is the *Dialogue* between *Cromwell* and the *Devil*, as *Mr. Echard* tells it, under the Year 1651. This Story he had from some one or other, who had it from the Family of the *Thorowgoods*, who had it from the Memoirs of *John Thorowgood*, a Boy of Twelve Years Old, who had it from his Father *Mr. Thomas Thorowgood*, who had it from *Colonel Lindsey*, who had it from the Devil himself; for he saw *Oliver* and *Satan* together, and was a Witness to the Bargain. This miserable Tale, which would not beartelling to Children and Servants about a *Christmas* Fire, without some Humour and Grimace, is related in the most solemn serious Manner, and *Mr. Echard* is not at all ashamed of it; but adds, that *Mr. Thorowgood's* Testimony compleats and confirms the Story: Of which he is so fond, that instead of retracting it, he lets it stand in his *Second Edition*, p. 691, as an Ornament to his wonderful Performance.

I am sensible 'tis impossible to write a *History* of *England*, and keep one's self in the good Graces of all Readers. If I were capable of it, I would not expect it, nor desire it. And what must I say to get the Character of a *Candid Ingenious* Author, from some *Cambridge* and *Oxford* Men? Must not I flatter the Betrayers of our *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Liberties, assert the Power and Dignity of the *Priesthood*, extol their *Virtue* and *Learning*, and place the *Mitre* above the *Crown*?

For my Part, I would keep strictly to *Truth*, as far as I could get Intelligence; and must confess it would be with a strong Bias in Favour of the *Constitution*.

To write on that Side with a just Regard to Fact, is to be Impartial. The Party is that which separates and divides it self from the publick Interest, to support a particular one in Opposition to it. What must the Side be, that's opposite to the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our Country? Is it likely that they carry Conscience or Reason along with them, or that such a Party should be compos'd of Men of Honour, Wit and Merit; and the other be to a Man, a Company of Witless, Worthless Wretches, led on by Two or Three cunning designing Rascals, to fight for the *Protestant Religion and Liberty*, &c. This seems to be the whole Purport and Aim of the *Earl of Clarendon's* and *Mr. Echard's* Histories.

The Parliament of *England*, who brought in *King Charles the Second*, justify'd the Proceedings of the *Long Parliament*, till the Death of the King, as you may see in *Echard*, Anno 1660. They drew their Swords, said that Parliament, to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and vindicate their just Liberties; and how are they represented by the above-mention'd Historians?

When I read the Characters in the *Lord Clarendon's History* of the *Rebellion*, it puts me in Mind of those Painters who can perform well when they paint after *Fancy*, but never succeed when they are to follow Likeness.

That History and *Mr. Echard's* have done most Mischief in our Times: Under Colour of Impartiality there's a Design conceal'd, which is the most Partial and Mischievous. Can any one by reading those Histories know really what Sort of Men *King James the First*, and his Son,

Son, and Two Grandsons were, or have a true Idea of the Characters which their Reigns were full of?

Common Readers have been deceiv'd by Appearances in both. The Beauty of *Imagination* and *Colouring* in the Earl of *Clarendon's History* charm'd them so much, that they were not aware of the notorious Mixture of *Falseness* with *Truth*, which runs through it; as will be seen by comparing it with *Rushworth's Collections*, *Whitlock's Memorials*, and other contemporary Writers. By *Historical Falseness* I do not intend *Fable*, when I speak of my Lord *Clarendon*. But where the *Fact* is curtail'd or enlarg'd, where it is brought in or carry'd off with unfair and forc'd Reflections, then is the Work *Historically false*, for that the whole *Truth* of the *Facts* does not appear, and of Consequence the *Reflections* which are made upon them must be ill grounded.

It has been said of the Earl of *Clarendon*, that his Lordship *has remember'd more Minds than another Man could remember Faces*; And it must be by a *Miracle* if the *Likeness* is always preserv'd.

The Preface to *Whitlock's Memorials* is suppos'd to be written by *Annesley*, the first Earl of *Anglesey*, and he speaks thus of that noble Author; *He had that Principle of a Gentleman, as not to report dishonourably of an Enemy, and therefore he is the more excusable in giving a fair Character of his Friends.*

Almost all the *Left Side* Characters in the Lord *Clarendon's History* were Friends to *Whitlock*, who either wrote *unfairly* in giving them *fair* Characters, or the Earl of *Clarendon* wrote *unfairly* in giving them *foul* ones.

Had there been the Impartiality in *Echard's* Work, which he often boasts of, the Air of Truth that appears in these *Memorials*, wou'd have check'd his Inclination to follow such Guides as *Heylin*, *Nalson*, the *Grand Rebellion*, &c. where a quite contrary Air is every where visible. *A. Wood* assures us, *Whitlock's* Book is no more than a *Diary* which he began and continued for his private Use. Whereas *Nalson's*, *Heylin's*, the *Grand History*, &c. are all artful study'd Compo-
 sures, written with a View to vindicate or explain away all the Male-Administration in the Reign of *King Charles the First*. As to *Rushworth*, who wou'd have been another good Guide for him, let us see what *Wood* has to say of him and his Writings. He was upon the Stage continually, an Eye and Ear Witness of the greatest Transactions. He did personally attend and observe all Occurrences of Moment, during the Eleven Years Interval of Parliament, in the Star-Chamber, Court of Honour, Exchequer-Chamber, Council-Table, &c. He went to the Camp at *Berwick*, on Purpose to see and observe the Passages. He was Clerk Assistant to the House of Commons, Secretary to the Lord General *Fairfax*, many Years a Member of Parliament, Secretary to the Lord Chancellor *Bridgman*, and a considerable Lawyer himself. Let the Reader judge, Whether it is not likely we should find the Facts in the Works of such a Writer, rather than in Two such Hirelings as *Nalson* and *Heylin*, to name no more at present? Now if in all the State Passages, wherein the History of the *Grand Rebellion*, and their Histories copy'd by *Echard*, extol the Conduct of *King Charles the First*, *Laud*, *Stafford*, and the rest of the Courtiers and Creatures of that Prince, there is not a perfect Disagreement with *Rushworth's* Collections, and *Whitlock's* Memorials, I have been
 guilty

guilty of the Faults with which I charge the Arch-
deacon, gross Partiality, Prevarication, &c.

Since the first Impression, a Collection of Ten
Letters has been publish'd, address'd to the Au-
thor of this History, which he never saw till af-
ter the Run of them was pretty well over. In
the Preface to them, the Matter is set right as to
Whitlock and *Rushworth*. *These Historians*, says
that Writer, *disagree almost every where with my*
Lord Clarendon in Fact, Circumstance or Character.
And the Reader should prefer the Plainness and Sim-
plicity of Diaries and Registers, such as Rush-
worth's and Whitlock's, writ at the Instant, to
relate Events when, and just as they happen'd, to a
study'd artful Performance, such as his Lordship's,
writ many Tears after, and with a visible Inten-
tion to recover the Reputation of a Cause he had
himself espous'd, and in which he was accompany'd
by none but Hero's, Saints, and other Worthies,
as he is pleas'd to represent them almost to a Man,
&c.

In *Echard's History* you will meet with the same
Blemish as in the *Lord Clarendon's*, but not with
the same Beauty. That Writer seems to be ena-
mour'd with his own Stile, and to think it the
chief Merit of an *Historian*. I own, a *Stile* will
do the Business well enough with common in-
judicious Readers, as *Diction* often does in the
modern *Drama*. But when a Spectator is capable
of judging of the *Design*, the *Conduct*, the *Propor-*
tion of a *Picture*, will he not have a Contempt
even for the best *Colours*, without them?

I have often wonder'd how that *Historian* could
have ventur'd upon such an Undertaking, if he
had read Bishop *Nicholson's Description* of the
Qualifications necessary for it.

"An *Historian*, says that learned Prelate, in
"his *English Historical Library*, should not only

" be a *Scholar*, a *Statesman*, and a *Philosopher*,
 " but also a *Divine*, a *Lawyer*, an *Orator*, and a
 " *Poet*, and further, a downright *honest Country-*
 " *Gentleman*: At least, he must be plentifully
 " stock'd with *Wit*, or an *universal Disposition*,
 " and *Noble Spirit*, that comprehends all that's
 " great and glorious in the several States and Em-
 "pires of the whole World. And to these intel-
 " lectual Endowments, we must add that great
 " one of all, of being *Philalethes*, a Person un-
 " bias'd by Passion and Interest.

If to this we join what *Pere le Moine* says,
 'twill shew what a daring Enterprize the writing
History is, *Such an Historian duly qualify'd, is a*
Man not yet born, nor will be before the Tear that
discovers the Perpetual Motion, and Philosophers
Stone.

To set up for an *Historian* with one or two of
 these Qualifications, or perhaps with one only, a
narrative Stile, is like setting up for a Painter,
 with a Bag of Colours.

Mr. *Echard* has servilely copy'd, and in some
 Places outdone the Lord *Clarendon*, in his partial
Characteristicks.

The *Royalists* are, to a Man, Men of *Honour*,
 or *Sense*, or *Piety*, or *Courage*, or all.

The *Parliamentarians* are *Cowards*, or *Atheists*,
 or *Blockheads*, or *Hypocrites*, or all; wherein nei-
 ther of them have sav'd Decencies; it being ve-
 ry unlikely that so good a Cause, as the bringing
Delinquents to Punishment, and vindicating their
just Liberties, to use the Words of the Parlia-
 ment, should be espous'd only by a Parcel of
 Scoundrels; and *Arbitrary Power* and *Bigotry* have
 all the Heroes of their Side. Both these Histo-
 rians are like another whom I have read of, that
 call'd the *Captain* of his own Party always *Achil-*
les, and the *Enemies* *General Thersites*. The
 Lord

Lord Clarendon stumbles at the Threshold, and begins in the very Title, *The History of the Grand Rebellion* by the Lords and Commons of England, in Defence of their just Rights, against Archbishop Laud, the Earl of Strafford, &c. Mr. E-
chard leads along his Rebels and Roundheads, like so many Captives, after King Charles the First's Triumphal Car.

Livy every-where makes honourable Mention of *Scipio*, *Afranius*, and even *Brutus* and *Cassius*, often stiling them *excellent Persons*; yet was he not less belov'd of *Augustus Cæsar*, nor had any other Reprimand from him, than that of *Pompeianus*; neither did those Times ever call them Rogues and REGICIDES, says my Lord Anglesey. These Terms were bestowed upon them afterwards, by a more degenerate Un-Roman Generation, under the Ministry of *Sejanus*. If *Sejanus* the Minister could have written the History himself, no doubt it would have been entitl'd the *Grand Rebellion*, or the Downfall of *Brutus* the Regicide. But for all that, who would not much rather have the Character of *Brutus*, than that of *Sejanus*.

'Tis an Affront to a civil Reader, continues the Earl of Anglesey, who comes with a good Appetite, hungry for the Truth, to grate upon his Teeth with Reproaches and Aggravations; or, on the other hand, to turn his Stomach with nauseous Flourishes, and slavish Adulation. The Reader comes not to engage and list in a PARTY, but expects with an honest Neutrality to make Profit, and a laudable Spoil, from the Quarrels and Misfortunes of others.

Though such Aggravations and Reproaches, such slavish Adulation and nauseous Flourishes, must be expected from Persons of low and narrow Breeding and Life, yet they are mean, unbecoming, and even unnatural in an Author of Distinction.

I have

but I have neither Leisure nor Inclination to enter here into the *Detail* of the *Glosses*, *Misrepresentations*, *false Lights*, *sophistical Arguments*, &c. in the *History* of the *Rebellion*, and *Mr. Echard's History*, tho' I have Matter enough collected before me: But I beg the Reader to let me muster up *Echard's* two Armies of Epithets.

On the King's Side. On the Parliaments's Side.

Gallant,	Courageous,	Infamous,	Villainous,
Famous,	Punctual,	Mo-	Hypocritical,
dest,	Brave,	Honest,	Va-
liant,	Fearless,	Intrepid,	ous,
Wise,	Industrious,	Active,	reasonable,
Rich,	Invincible,	Un-	ctioners,
daunted,	Witty,	Judici-	Sinks,
ous,	Polite,	Learned,	So-
ber,	Pious,	Devout,	Fault-
less,	Excellent,	Virtuous,	tical,
Irviolable,	Reputable,	Obscure,	Proud,
Studious,	Opulent,	Lucky,	Blasphemous,
Fortune-telling,	Incompa-	carnate,	&c.
rable,	Young,	Stout,	Godly,
Sweet-temper'd,	Grace-	ful,	Lovely,
&c.			

Would one think now that such an Army as he has press'd for the Parliament, was every where victorious over the *Valiant* and *Invincible*; and that among the *Faultless* and *Fearless*, we should find the *Wilmots* and *Gorings*?

The Partiality is so staring, that 'tis ridiculous; and there is not the like in History, from that of *Herodotus* to *Mr. Echard's*. It must be confess'd, when Persons of a certain Function have set about *History-Writing*, it generally smells of the *Cask*;

and if by their Works they cannot make Men better, I despair of their making them wiser. 'Tis true, there are many Exceptions to this Observation, and my Lord of *Salisbury's* late History is an unquestionable one: But when was there ever a Man, whose Knowledge of the World and Affairs began at twenty Years of Age, and increas'd till almost Fourſcore, as his did; and in whom we meet with all the Endowments of a *Divine*, a *Statesman*, a *Scholar*, a *Philosopher*, a *Gentleman*, and above all, of a *Christian*, who writes only what he knows, and speaks only what he thinks?

The Order and Disposition of Bishop *Burnet's* History of his Times, the Juſtneſs of his Moral and Political Reflections, the Simplicity of his Style, and that Air of Probity and Goodneſs which runs thro' the whole, carry with them thoſe Marks of Immortality, which are rarely ſeen in the Works of the *Moderns*; notwithstanding ſome few Exceptions, to which all human Writings are liable.

Thoſe of the *Ancients*, who in this Biſhop's Way, wrote of their own Times, and of Things within their own Knowledge, or that of their Friends, were always held in the higheſt Eſteem, as being both moſt uſeful and entertaining; ſuch as *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius*, *Saluſt*, *Tacitus*, *Lactantius*, *Marcellinus*. Among the *Moderns*, the moſt famous are, *Philip de Camines*, *Guicciardin*, *Davila*, *Monſieur de Thou*, whoſe History bears the ſame Title with our Biſhop's, and probably he form'd his Deſign upon that Illuſtrious Author's. But not to affect a Shew of Reading, it will appear by theſe great Names, well known to all Lovers of good Literature, that the Biſhop's Manner is not only the moſt delightful and inſtructing, but in the beſt Repute, as to Hiſtory,

story, in the Learned World, both Ancient and Modern.

In Discourse with his Lordship upon the Subject of his History, two Years before his Death, I perceiv'd he foresaw that the Light he had given to the dark Affairs of the Two Inglorious Reigns succeeding the Restoration, would enrage that desperate Faction, who were the Instruments of the Misery and Confusion which attended them.

As they have nothing to flatter them in their Despair, but the pretended Claim of an abandon'd Fugitive; an Attempt to expose the Imposture, must needs give them a terrible Alarm, and drive them upon all the little and base Methods that Prejudice and Malice can invent, and Falshood and Perjury support, to elude the Strength of his Arguments, and keep the Cheat in Countenance. This he was very sensible of; but desir'd that the Friends to Truth and his Memory would treat the Herd of *Answerers* and *Remarkers* with the same Indifference and Neglect, which he observ'd towards the *Remarkers* and *Answerers* that crowded after his History of the Reformation, but dy'd and were forgotten before he had Time to call over their Names and Titles.

He reply'd to one of these *Remarkers*, *Wharton* the *Nonjuror*, who disguis'd his true Name with an *alias Anthony Harmer*. This Person, who was equally a *Pedant* and a *Bigot*, was cry'd up by the *Faction* for his Learning and Orthodoxy; tho' his *Remarks* on the *History of the Reformation* consisted chiefly in *Dates*, *Figures*, in Readings of *Records*, and other such Observations; which did not at all depreciate the Merit of that admirable Performance. But it is very common with them to declaim eternally in Praise of these Dealers in *Monkish* History, as if their Works were

were invaluable; though all their Value is in the Pains they take to establish an Ecclesiastical Tyranny; and I hardly ever met with one of them, that had any Relish of useful and polite Learning. We need not wonder why this *Wharton*, alias *Harmer*, is so much in the good Graces of the Historian *Echard*, and the Party; since among all his Labours, he scarce ever spent himself more, than in his *Defence of Pluralities*, a most wicked Practice, and a Scandal to the Christian Name: He himself having Two Parsonages, and never living at one of them. Bishop *Burnet* fully answered *Anthony Harmer*, in a Letter to the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

A. D.
1622.

It is pleasant to see from what *Quarter* the Assaults, with which the Bishop's Work is threaten'd, are to come. Other *Bigots* and *Papists* are to furnish Magazines, and carry on the War against this Reverend Prelate's Merit and Reputation; and a Set of obscure, nameless Scriblers are hir'd to write they *don't know what, and don't know how*, to prove that what the Bishop saw with his own Eyes, and heard with his own Ears, is not true. A very noble and equal Match this; and the Success will doubtless be as equal, *Truth* against *Falshood*, *Learning* against *Ignorance*, *Fame* against *Infamy*. I shall not in the following Pages pretend to vindicate any Part of the *History of the Times*: Farther than to observe in general, that there reigns a Spirit of Piety in it, which is by no Means consistent with Insincerity. The great Author did not intend to court or affront any Party or Persons. If Facts plainly and faithfully told made for or against them, they must even take the Consequence. All History will have the same Effects, especially if written in a Period so full of Divisions and Distractions as is that he writes of. He never design'd to let his Work be

pub-

publish'd, till he was out of the hearing of the Applause and Glamour which he knew would necessarily follow it. Consequently he did not concern himself in its Fortune, farther than in his Hopes that it would *make himself and Readers wiser and better, and lay open the good and bad of all Sides and Parties, as clearly and impartially as he himself understood it, concealing nothing that he thought fit to be known, and representing Things in their natural Colours without Art or Disguise.* His Services to our Church and Nation were so important, that he wanted no new Merit. He was justly exalted to, and had been many Years in Possession of one of the highest and richest Ecclesiastical Preferments. He had acquired the Character of one of the best Writers of the Age both Abroad and at Home. He had put all Opposition to Silence, and seen his and the Nation's Enemies cover'd with Confusion and Shame. A Triumph over these was too poor a Reward for so considerable a Labour, and there was little left to tempt him as to Interest or Ambition. Impotence disarms the Generous, and he could have no View in an Undertaking commenced almost in his *Climacterick*, but to serve God and his Country. Mens Passions at that Age very rarely set them in a Flame, unless animated by a Divine Zeal for the publick Good. And can one imagine, that a Godly, Grave, Intelligent Bishop, who had no Reason to think but he was daily approaching very nearly the tremendous Bar, at which the Souls of Righteous and Unrighteous must receive their eternal Doom; Can one imagine, I say, that such a Man wou'd appeal to it in so solemn a manner to *judge according to his Integrity*, if what he said was not true, or he did not sincerely believe it to be so?

C H. A. P. II.

Of the History of King James I.

A. D.
1602.

I Cou'd easily furnish my self with Materials for this Work, but finding it already done in a Discourse said to be written by a Minister of State, entitled, *A short History of Standing Armies*, I shall transcribe what he writes; and the Reason why I give a short History of this King, is to let the Reader have some Knowledge of him, which he can never get in Mr. *Echard's*; and by comparing this History with his, form a Judgment of the Sincerity and Use of both.

"No sooner was King *James* come to the Crown, says that noble Author, but all the Reputation we had acquir'd in Queen *Elizabeth's* Glorious Reign was eclips'd, and we became the Scorn of Nations.

See how Mr. *Echard* introduces him.

All People began soon to dry up their Tears, and to cast their Eyes towards the BRIGHT NORTHERN STAR, which was now to guide and influence the whole Island.

And how he influen'd and guided it, will be seen by continuing his History out of the same Treatise.

"We were contemn'd even by that State we had created, who insulted us at Sea, seiz'd *Amboyna*, *Peleroon*, *Seran*, and other Places in the East Indies, by which they engross'd the most profitable Trade of Spices, fish'd upon our Coast without paying the customary Tribute, and at the same Time prevail'd with the King to deliver up the Cautionary Towns of *Brill*,

"*Rame-*

“ *Ramekins*, and *Flushing*, for a very small Con-
 “ sideration, though there was Six Millions Ar-
 “ rears. He squander’d the publick Treasure,
 “ discountenanc’d all the great Men who were
 “ rais’d in the Glorious Reign of his Predecessor,
 “ cut off Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* Head, advanc’d
 “ Favourites of his own, Men of no Merit, to
 “ the highest Preferment; and to maintain their
 “ Profuteness, he granted them Monopolies, in-
 “ finite Projects, prostituted Honours for Mo-
 “ ney, rais’d Benevolences and Loans without
 “ Authority of Parliament. And when these
 “ Grievances were complain’d of there, he com-
 “ mitted many of the principal Members without
 “ Bail or Mainprize; as he did afterwards for
 “ presuming to address him against the *Spanish*
 “ Match. He pardon’d the Earl of *Somerset* and
 “ his Wife for Sir *Thomas Overbury’s* Murder,
 “ after he had imprecated all the Curses of Hea-
 “ ven upon himself and his Posterity, and it was
 “ generally thought because the Earl was neces-
 “ sary to the poisoning Prince *Henry*. He per-
 “ mitted his Son-in-Law to be ejected out of his
 “ Principalities, and the Protestant Interest to be
 “ run down in *Germany* and *France*, while he
 “ was bubbled Nine Years together with the
 “ Hopes of the *Spanish* Match, and a great For-
 “ tune. All our Histories, even *Edward’s* own
 “ History informs us of King *James’s* discounte-
 “ nancing the King of *Bohemia* in his Enterprize
 “ upon that Kingdom, but none of them are so
 “ honest or so knowing as to tell us, He, on the
 “ contrary, us’d his Endeavours to advance the
 “ Duke of *Savoy*, a bigotted Papist, to that
 “ Throne, preparatory to the Imperial. *James*
 “ the First, King of *Great Britain*, says Monsieur
 “ *Deageant*, in his Memoirs, instead of inclining
 “ the Prince *Palatine*, his Son in Law, dissuaded

him from it, and was of Opinion that the Duke of Savoy ought to be regarded. One of the English Ministers of State imparted this to me, that I might inform the King thereof, Lewis the XIIIth, and induce him to prosecute this Design, &c. p. 111.

Again, He solicited me to endeavour to invite the King to make use of his Interest with the Electoral Princes that were his Friends, as he intended to do with those that were his; promising also to raise Forces to assist the Duke of Savoy in his Election and Enstallment. All this in Opposition not only to the Husband of his most deserving Daughter, but the Head of the Protestant Interest in the Empire; whom several Popish Powers were for advancing, to humble the House of Austria. Edward pretends to have seen Deageant's Memoirs, but he takes not the least Notice of these Passages, which wou'd very much confirm the Belief of the Archbishop of Embrun's Negotiations; wherein he was so successful, that the King promis'd him to turn Papist upon Consummation of the French Match. This is the Prince who spoke with the Spirit of God, against the Presbyterians at the Hampton Court Conference, if you'll believe Archbishop Whitgift, and Archdeacon Edward. These Things bearing hard on the Character of this King, as a good Church of England Man, instead of telling you Deageant publish'd his Memoirs himself, at the Command of the Cardinal de Richlieu, and that he had read the Archbishop of Embrun's Letter, containing a full Account of King James's Conversion to Popery, dated the 3d of March, 1635; he flurs over both these Authorities, saying, of these Two French Authors we can say no more, than that the Credit of their Narrative must be left to all Nice and Impartial Readers of this Reign. What does this Author affect by his Impartiality and Nicety,

but that to believe any Thing contrary to the Perfection of King *James* the First's Character, is Stupid and Partial? To continue my *short History* of that King.

“ Afterwards he made a dishonourable Treaty
 “ of Marriage with *France*, giving the Papists
 “ Liberty of Conscience ; and indeed, as he of-
 “ ten declar'd, he was no otherwise an Enemy
 “ to *Popery*, than for their deposing of Kings,
 “ and King-killing Doctrine. In *Ireland* he gave
 “ them all the Encouragement he durst ; which
 “ Policy has been follow'd by all his Successors
 “ to the present Reign, and has serv'd them to
 “ Two Purposes ; one is, by this they have had
 “ a Pretence to keep up *Standing Armies* there,
 “ to awe the Natives ; and the other, that they
 “ might make use of the Natives against their
 “ *English* Subjects. In this Reign that ridicu-
 “ lous Doctrine of Kings being *Jure Divino* was
 “ coin'd, never before heard of even in the
 “ *Eastern* Tyrannies. The other Parts of his Go-
 “ vernment had such a Mixture of *Scaramouch*
 “ and *Harlequin*, that they ought not to be spo-
 “ ken of seriously ; as *Proclamations* upon every
 “ Trifle, some against talking of News ; Letters
 “ to the Parliament, telling them he was an Old
 “ and Wise King, that State Affairs were above
 “ their Reach, and therefore they must not med-
 “ dle with them, and such like Trumpery. But
 “ our Happiness was, this Prince was a great
 “ Coward, and hated the Sight of a Soldier, so
 “ that he could not do much against us by open
 “ Force.

What follows is taken out of the Bishop of *Salisbury's History of his Times*.

When King *James* came to be of Age in *Scotland*, he hearken'd to the Insinuations of *Profess'd Papists*. He made the Duke of *Lenox*, a Crea-
 4

ture of *France* and a known *Papist*, his Favourite. He disguis'd or deny'd every Thing that was observ'd in his Behaviour, that gave Offence to *England*. The Jealousies of his Fickleness in Religion were never remov'd, and gave him many Disgusts, till they wrought in him a most inveterate Hatred of *Presbytery*. He made *Elphinston*, a *Papist*, Secretary of State; and *Seaton* another *Papist*, Lord Chancellor. He wrote a Letter to the Pope, to assure him he would connive at Popery. He lost the Union of *England* and *Scotland* by an unreasonable Partiality, in pretending that *Scotland* ought to be consider'd as the Third Part of the Isle of *Great Britain*, if not more. He engag'd his whole Government to support *Episcopacy*, which was then very contrary to the *Bent and Genius of the Nation*. However, he intended to carry Matters still farther; but thro' Sloth or Fear, or by Reason of the great Disorder to which his ill Conduct brought his Affairs in *England*, he put a Stop to his Design on *Scotland*. His eldest Son Prince *Henry* was so very little like his Father, that he was rather fear'd than lov'd by him; and Colonel *Titus* assur'd the Bishop of *Sarum*, that King *Charles* the First told him, Prince *Henry* was poison'd by the Earl of *Somerset*. He had an invincible Aversion to War, and was so possess'd of the Opinion of the *Divine Right* of all Kings, that he could not bear that an Elective and Limited King, such as *Bohemia*, shou'd be call'd in Question by his Subjects. He broke the Greatness of the Crown of *England*, by squandering away its Lands and Wardships. His Proceedings against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, were thought both *barbarous* and *illegal*.

His Reign in *England* was a continu'd Course of mean Practices. It was not easy to persuade the Nation of the Truth of *Gowry's* Conspiracy.

For, says the Right Reverend Author, Eight Years before that Time, King James, on a secret Jealousy of the Earl of Murray, then esteem'd one of the handsomest Men of Scotland, set on the Marquis of Huntley, who was his mortal Enemy, to murder him; and by a Writing under his Hand he promis'd to save him Harmless for it. Then they set the House in which Murray was on Fire, and the Earl flying away was follow'd and murder'd; and Huntley sent Gordon of Buckey with the News to the King. Soon after all who were concern'd in that vile Fact were pardon'd, which laid the King open to much Censure. And this made the Matter of Gowry to be less believ'd, though an Anniversary Day was appointed to be kept holy in Remembrance of this Deliverance.

" Among a Number of other Novelties, to use
 " Mr. OSBORN'S Terms, he brought a new Ho-
 " liday into the Church of England, wherein God
 " had publick Thanks given him for his Maje-
 " sty's Deliverance out of the Hands of Earl
 " Gowry". All that follows is very agreeable to
 the Declamations on Two or Three of our Sta-
 tutable Holydays. " This fell out upon August 3.
 " on which many Lies were told, either at Home
 " or Abroad, in the Choir of St. Paul's, &c. for
 " no Scotsman you cou'd meet with beyond Sea
 " but did laugh at it, and said, the Relation in
 " Print did murder all Possibility. But I will
 " not wade farther in this Business, not knowing
 " how dangerous the Bottom may prove, being
 " by all Men's Report foul and bloody.

Notwithstanding all which, Mr. Echard boldly asserts, Earl Gowry plotted to seize the King. Gowry was one of the Presbytery, and it is no wonder his plausible Answers, as the Historian calls his reasonable Vindication, cou'd not procure him Justice, nor so much as Compassion
 from

from the Author, who has this mean Reflection upon him at parting: He made the common Regret, *If he had serv'd God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that End.* When the Historian is in a Rapture of Panegyrick on the Piety and Wisdom of this King, I hope the Reader will remember the Deaths of the Earls *Murray and Gowry.*

Besides Proofs of these Facts, I cou'd produce many more of the same Kind; but I leave it as an ungrateful Task, and only Mr. Echard's gross Partiality and Adulation have drawn so much from me.

The Reader may now venture upon his History, and keeping this faithful and short one in View, will know what Judgment to make of him in this and the following Reigns: For the same Design and the same Spirit conduct the whole. The Character of King *James* before he came to *England*, is copy'd after Bishop *Burnet*; and yet Archdeacon *Echard* assures us, *no King of England ever came to the Throne with greater Love and Reputation*; and so grateful was he to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he was more sensible of Wrongs done to her than himself.

We have hinted in the preceding Pages some Circumstances, to shew what Temper Archbishop *Whitgift* was of, and how signally it appear'd in the Tragedy of Mr. *Penry*: Yet Mr. *Echard* very seriously affirms, *he endeavour'd only to bring over Poople by Sweetness and Gentleness.*

King *James* having made a long Speech to his Parliament about *Kingship* and Subjection, *that Assembly*, says the Historian, *admir'd his Abilities, and he, as it were, triumph'd upon a Throne of the Peoples Love and Duty.*

This Author does not give one room for Remark; every Sentence executes it self, as was said

of the Glorious Treaty of *Utrecht*. If the Reader will be at the Pains to go through this King's Speech, he will soon see what Reason the Parliament had to be in such Admiration; and if what *Echard* says was true, wou'd conceive as ill Opinion of their Abilities, as they had a good one of the King's.

In the Fifth Year of his Reign he made a tedious one about the *Scots Union*, beginning with these pretty Gingles, *As there is but Unus Rex, so there ought to be but Unus Grex and Una Lex; and I do not intend to give England the Labour and Sweat, and Scotland the Fruit and Sweet.*

It seems King *Henry* the IVth of *France*, who certainly understood Men as well as any Man, did not admire King *James* the Ist's Abilities so much as *Mr. Echard* does. *President Jeannin*, the *French Minister* in *Holland*, wrote to his Master, that King *James* was never sincere with the *Hollanders*, whom he condemn'd for *REBELLING* against *Spain*; and King *Henry* in his Answer owns, *he knew his Intentions towards the State, but his Carriage did not break his Sleep*; adding, *I know his Capacity, and the Inclinations of his People.*

The Historian however can never say enough of his *Wisdom* and *Piety*, Edit. ult. p. 379, 380. and gives us another Touch of his Eloquence in another Speech.

God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his Pleasure; so Kings can give Life and Death, judge all and be judg'd of none; they can exalt low Things, and abase high Things, making the Subjects like Men at Chess, a Pawn to take a Bishop or Knight. Though the Author is wonderfully delighted with the Counsels and Glory of this Reign, with the Beauty of the Language and Sentiments of King *James's* Speeches, &c. yet I can-

cannot follow him: I see nothing but what is trifling, or even ridiculous in the one, and weak and inglorious in the other; consisting chiefly of Ridings, Feastings, Creations, Births, Marriages, Burials, Audiences, and other pompous Ceremonies, unequal to the Dignity of History, but elaborately set forth in this.

Amidst the *State Tumours* in France, and the *State Dropsy* in Germany, he tells us, *King James's grand Care and Concern was for his only Son Charles*; as appear'd some Time after by his sending him to Spain on as errant a Piece of *Chivalry* as ever the Knight of *Mancha* went upon.

The bloody and illegal Treatment of Sir *Walter Raleigh* is not only generally abhorr'd, but confess'd by almost every Writer that speaks of it. Yet Mr. *Echard* cannot help, in his usual way, to impute it to *Divine Vengeance*, for his unjust swallowing such large Portions of the Church's Revenue in Queen Elizabeth's Reign. God Almighty be prais'd, that these *Makers of Judgments* are not the *Dispensers of them*.

When King James's Son-in-Law, the King of *Bohemia*, and his religious and beauteous Queen, were driven out of Germany by the *Papists*, the King of England said, *He would engage his Crown, his Blood, and his Son's Blood to restore them*. After this solemn Protestation from a pious and wise King, what can one expect less than raising of Armies, and fitting out of Fleets? But instead of that, we hear only of Ambassadors posting from one Court to another with big Words, so little minded, that they were the Jest of Nations. Even the dullest whetted their Raillery on this Occasion; and in a *Flemish* Farce, a Messenger is introduc'd, bringing News of a mighty Army preparing to recover the *Palatinate*. The King of Denmark sends 100000 pick'd Herrings, the

Hollanders 100000 Butterboxes, and the King of England 100000 Ambassadors. In one Place they pictur'd the Historian's *Rex pacificus* with a *Scabbard* without a *Sword*; and in another with a *Sword* which none could draw, tho' several pull'd at it: And at *Brussels* he was painted with his Pockets hanging out, and no Money in them. But what was sufficient to provoke the Pity and Indignation of every human Breast, much more of a Father and a King, at *Antwerp* they painted that excellent, tho' unfortunate Princess the Queen of *Bohemia*, like a poor *Irish* Mantler, with her Hair dishevel'd, and her Child on her Back, the King her Father carrying the Cradle after her. Every one of these Pictures had suitable *Motto's*. Such *Derisions*, says *Echard*, and *Reflections* were put upon the King, and in him upon the whole Nation. The same King, of whom the same Author tells us, Archbishop *Whitgift*, the greatest Persecutor that ever dishonour'd the Church of *England*, said, *I am verily persuaded he spoke by the Spirit of God in Favour of Episcopacy, the Common-Prayer Book, the Surplice, Cross in Baptism, &c.* *Osborn*, who liv'd at that Time, and was an Attendant on the Court, writes thus: "This
 " *Schism* was not any ways dangerous, till King
 " *James*, more it may be thought out of *Osten-*
 " *tation*, to shew such Parts as are nothing ne-
 " cessary, than Reason of State, only requisite
 " in a Prince, made it considerable, by putting
 " it in Competition with the Doctrine generally
 " profess'd in a *Colloquy* held before his Royal
 " Person at *Hampton-Court*; till that dishonoura-
 " ble *Dispute*, who should command, the *Dioc-*
 " *esan* or the *Priest*, none did boggle at the *Sur-*
 " *plice*, *Cross*, *Ring*, and so by consequence the
 " *Common-Prayer Book*, but out of pure Consci-
 " ence, and therefore unlikely to hurt any body
 " but

“ but themselves ; till the Number increasing to
 “ such a Proportion, made a visible Profit appear
 “ to so many, as wanting better Employment,
 “ could but conform their Words and Looks to
 “ these *Precifians*. They grew upon the King’s
 “ *Disputation*. Nor did the notorious *Debau-*
 “ *chery* of the Episcopal Clergy add a little to
 “ the Rent.

Would the Reader have ever been able to find out, by Mr. *Echard*’s History, that the Growth of *Puritanism* was owing to a Disputation, in which the King spoke against it by the *Spirit of God* ; or would ever have learnt, that the *Debauchery* of the Clergy was a great Promoter of it ? *The Court Sermons*, continues Mr. *Osborn*, told him that he might, as *Christ*’s Vicegerent, command all ; and that the People, if they deny’d him, were under the severest Curse. A few Lines afterwards, he describes what was not to be deny’d the King. *The Nation by this Time was grown feeble, and overpress’d with Impositions, Monopolies, Aids, Privy-Seals, Concealments, pretermitted Customs, Forfeitures, penal Statutes, with a Multitude of Tricks more to cheat the English Subjects.*

When the Historian comes to the Character of King *James*, he tells you with a grave Air, *It is really true, that besides several valuable and amiable Qualifications, he had an admirable Pregnancy of Wit, a Promptness and Elegancy of speaking ; was mild, peaceful, and munificent ;* which I repeat, to explain what I mean by *Sophistry* in History.

If by Mild he understands *Soft*, by Peaceful *Timorous*, by Munificent *Profuse*, it is really true ; if otherwise, false and *sophistical*.

We have seen some of the Elegance of his Speeches ; and whoever has a mind to see more, may

may have enough in *Echard's*, and other Histories.

Wilson, who wrote this Reign, was Secretary to the Earl of *Effex*; and Mr. *Osborn*, who has left some Memorials of it, was a Gentleman of a good Family, and generous Education: Both wrote of Times in which they liv'd; and whoever writes now of them, may very well be suspected, if they write contrary to what they have written.

Wilson's Life and Reign of King James I.

Osborn's Memorials of King James I.

CHAP. III.

Of the History of King Charles I.

WHEN Mr. *Echard* gives the Reader a List of his Authors, in his Preface to this Reign, the Writers on the King's Side have all their Titles and Dignities, and those on the Parliament's hardly a Christian Name bestow'd upon them. I mention this, as much a Trifle as it is, to shew the Temper of the Man, and give a Sample of his Impartiality in the very Preface, which abounds so much with Boasts of *Sincerity* and *Candor*.

Thus you have *Doctor Perinchef*, *Doctor Heylin*, *Doctor Nalson*, *Doctor Hollingworth*, &c. excellent Names! for the King: For the Parliament, plain *Ludlow*, *Peyton*, *May*, Men of Quality and Learning; whereas his *Doctors* have nothing to recom-

recommend them, but their Degrees, which he denies to *Calamy* and *Walker*, for not being of the same Kidney.

I shall enquire into the Characters of his *Doctors*, when I have other Occasion to speak of them; and here only have a Word or two for *Hollingsworth*, who made himself talk'd of by his 30th of January Sermon, and a foolish Attempt to prove that *Icon Basilike* was written by King *Charles* the First, in opposition to the Declarations of Dr. *Gauden* the Author, King *James* the Second, the Earl of *Anglesey*, and Dr. *Walker*, who carry'd it to the Press, as he avers in a Treatise he publish'd A. D. 1692. wherein he says of *Hollingsworth's* Assertions, *His Story has not one word of Truth, nor the least Blush or Appearance of Possibility.* Again; *I have not so much to fear your Confutation, as you have to fear the Woe denounced against those who put Darknes for Light, and Light for Darknes.* This is one of our Historian's most famous Authors.

He begins King *Charles* the First's Reign very prettily, with assuring us, that if a Man could deserve a Crown, by running at a Ring, or shooting with a Cross-Bow, King *Charles* would have acquir'd a new Title to the Sovereignty.

That the Reader may have a right Notion of the History of this King's Reign, I shall follow my Method in the former, and transcribe what is said of it in the *Short History of a Standing Army*. State Tracts, Vol. II. p. 657, & seq.

After reading this, any one may by Comparison perceive, how much we are indebted to Mr. *Echard's* Integrity and Humanity.

“King *Charles* was a great Bigot, which made
 “him the Darling of the Clergy; but having no
 “great Reach of his own, and being govern'd
 “by the Priests, who have been always unfortu-
 “nate

"nate when they meddled with Politicks, with a
 "true Ecclesiastical Fury he drove on to the De-
 "struction of all the Liberties of *England*. This
 "King's whole Reign was one continu'd Act a-
 "gainst the Laws. He dissolv'd his first Parlia-
 "ment, for presuming to enquire into his Fa-
 "ther's Death, though he lost a great Sum of
 "Money by it, which they had voted him. He
 "enter'd at the same Time into a War with
 "France and Spain, upon the private Piques of
 "Buckingham, and manag'd them to the eternal
 "Dishonour and Reproach of the *English* Na-
 "tion; witness the ridiculous Enterprizes upon
 "Cadiz, and the Isle of *Rhee*: He deliver'd *Pe-*
 "nington's Fleet into the *French* Hands, betray'd
 "the *Rochellers*, and suffer'd the *Protestant* Inter-
 "rest in *FRANCE* to be quite extirpated. He
 "rais'd Loans and Excise, Coat and Conduet-Mo-
 "ney, Tonnage and Poundage, Knightbood and
 "Ship-Money, without Authority of Parliament;
 "impos'd new Oaths on the Subjects, to disco-
 "ver the Value of their Estates; imprison'd great
 "Numbers of the most considerable Gentry and
 "Merchants, for not paying his Arbitrary Taxes.
 "Some he sent beyond-Sea, and the poorer Sort
 "he press'd for Soldiers, whom he kept on *Free*
 "Quarters, and executed *Martial Law* upon
 "them. He granted *Monopolies* without Num-
 "ber, and broke the Bounds of the *Forests*. He
 "created Arbitrary Courts, and enlarg'd others;
 "as the *High-Commission Court*, *Star-Chamber*
 "Court, Court of Honour, Court of Requests, &c.
 "and unspeakable Oppressions were committed in
 "them, even to Men of the first Quality. He
 "commanded the Earl of *Bristol*, and Bishop of
 "Lincoln, not to come to Parliament: Commit-
 "ted and prosecuted a great many of the most
 "ominent Members of the House of Commons,
 "for

“ for what they did there; some for no Cause at
“ all, and would not let them have the Benefit
“ of the *Habeas Corpus*: Suspended and confined
“ Archbishop *Abbot*, because he would not li-
“ cense a Sermon that asserted *Despotick Power*,
“ whatever other Cause was pretended. He su-
“ spended the Bishop of *Gloucester*, for refusing
“ to swear never to consent to alter the Govern-
“ ment of the Church. He supported all his Ar-
“ bitrary Ministers against the Parliament; tel-
“ ling them, *He wonder'd at the foolish Impudence*
“ *of any one, to think he would part with the mean-*
“ *est of his Servants upon their Account*: And in-
“ deed, in his Speeches, or rather Menaces, he
“ treated them like his Footmen, calling them Un-
“ dutiful, Seditious, and Vipers. He brought un-
“ heard-of Innovations into the Church, prefer'd
“ Men of *Despotick Principles*, and inclinable to
“ *Popery*; especially those Firebrands, *Land*,
“ *Montague*, and *Manwaring*: One of whom had
“ been complain'd of in Parliament; another
“ impeach'd for advancing *Popery*, and the Third
“ condemn'd in the *House of Lords*. He dispen-
“ sed with the Laws against *Papists*, and both
“ encourag'd and prefer'd them. He call'd no
“ *Parliament* for Twelve Years together, and in
“ that Time govern'd as Arbitrarily as the *Grand*
“ *Signior*. He abetted the *Irish Massacre*, as ap-
“ pears by their producing a *Commission* under
“ the *Great Seal of Scotland*, by the Letter of
“ *Charles the Second* in Favour of the Marquis
“ of *Antrim*, by stopping the Succours which
“ the Parliament sent to reduce the *Rebels* Six
“ Months under the Walls of *Chester*, by his en-
“ tering into a *Treaty* with them after he had en-
“ gag'd his Faith to the Parliament to the con-
“ trary, and bringing over many Thousands of
“ them to fight against his People. It is endless
“ to

“ to enumerate all the *Oppressions* of his Reign;
 “ but having no Army to support him, his *Tyranny*
 “ was precarious, and at last his Ruin.
 “ Though he extorted great Sums of Money
 “ from his People, yet it was with so much Difficulty,
 “ that it did him little Good. Besides,
 “ he spent so much in foolish Wars and Expeditions,
 “ that he was always behind Hand: Yet
 “ he often attempted to raise an Army.

“ Under the Pretence of the *Spanish* and *French*
 “ War, he levy’d many Thousand Men, who
 “ robb’d and destroy’d wherever they came. But
 “ being unsuccessful in his Wars Abroad, and
 “ press’d by the Clamours of the People at Home,
 “ he was forc’d to disband them.

“ In 1627, he sent over 30000 Pounds to
 “ raise 3000 *German* Horse, to force his illegal
 “ Taxes; but this Matter taking Wind, and being
 “ examin’d by the *Parliament*, Orders were
 “ sent to countermand them.

“ In the 15th Year of his Reign, he gave a
 “ Commission to *Strafford* to raise 8000 *Irish* to
 “ be brought into *England*; but before they
 “ could get hither, the *Scots* were in Arms for
 “ the like Oppressions, and march’d into *Northumberland*;
 “ which forcing him to call a *Parliament* prevented that Design,
 “ and so that Army was disbanded. Soon after he rais’d an Army
 “ in *England* to oppose the *Scots*, and tamper’d with them
 “ to march to *London* and dissolve the *Parliament*. But this Army
 “ being compos’d for the most Part of the *Militia*, and the Matter
 “ being communicated to the House, who immediately fell on the
 “ Officers who were Members, as *Asburnham*, *Wilmot*, *Pollard*, &c.
 “ the Design came to nothing. After this there
 “ was a *Pacification* between the King and the *Scots*,

“ *Scots*, and in Pursuance of it, both Armies
“ were Disbanded.

“ Then he went to *Scotland*, and endeavour’d
“ to prevail with them to invade *England*. But
“ that not doing, he sent a Message to the Par-
“ liament, desiring their Concurrence in the rai-
“ sing 3000 *Irish* to be sent to the King of *Spain*,
“ to which the Parliament refus’d to consent, be-
“ lieving he would make another Use of them.

“ When he return’d to *London*, he pick’d 300
“ or 400 Dissolute Fellows out of the *Taverns*,
“ *Gaming* and *Brothel* Houses, kept a Table for
“ them, and with this goodly Guard, all arm’d,
“ he enter’d the House of *Commons*, sat down
“ in the Speaker’s Chair, demanding the Deli-
“ very of *Five Members*: But the Citizens com-
“ ing down by Land and Water with Muskets
“ on their Shoulders, to defend the Parliament,
“ he attempted no farther. This so enrag’d the
“ House, that they chose a Guard to defend them-
“ selves against future Insults: And the King soon
“ after left *London*.

“ Some Time before this began the *Irish* Re-
“ bellion, where the *Irish* pretended the King’s
“ Authority, and shew’d the *Great Seal* to justify
“ themselves; which whether true or false, rais’d
“ such a Jealousy in the People, that he was
“ forc’d to consent to leave the Management of
“ that *War* to the Parliament; yet he afterwards
“ sent a Message to them, telling them, he would
“ go to *Ireland* in Person; and acquainting them,
“ that he had issued out Commissions for rai-
“ sing 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse in *Cheshire* for
“ his Guard, which they protested against, and
“ prevented.

“ Then the Civil Wars broke out between
“ him and his People, in which many bloody
“ Battels were fought. At last by the Fate of
“ *War*,

" War, the King became a Prisoner, and the
 " Parliament treated with him while in that Con-
 " dition. They voted at the same Time, that
 " some Part of the Army should be Disbanded,
 " and others sent to *Ireland* to reduce that King-
 " dom. Upon which the *Army* chose *Agitators*
 " among themselves, who presented a Petition to
 " both *Houses*, that they would proceed to settle
 " the Affairs of the Kingdom, and declare that
 " no Part of the Army should be Disbanded, 'till
 " that was done. But finding their Petition was
 " rejected, they sent and seiz'd the King's Per-
 " son from the Parliament's Commissioners, drew
 " up a Charge of *High Treason* against *Eleven*
 " *Principal Members*, for endeavouring to Dis-
 " band the Army, and enter'd into a private
 " Treaty with the King: But he not complying
 " with their Demands, they seiz'd *London*; and
 " notwithstanding the *Parliament* had voted the
 " King's *Concessions* a good Ground for a future
 " Settlement, they resolv'd to put him to Death;
 " and in order thereto purg'd the House, as they
 " call'd it; that is, plac'd Guards upon them,
 " and excluded all Members that were for agree-
 " ing with the King.

Here's a faithful History of the Reign of King
Charles the First: Indeed nothing is extenuated,
 and very few Things heighten'd by Aggravation.
 Is there the least Likeness between this and the
 Earl of *Clarendon's* and Archdeacon *Echard's* Hi-
 stories? Will you not therefore every-where meet
 with *Glosses*, *Misrepresentations*, *False Lights*,
Sophistical Arguments, and *bold Assertions*? Look
 back on *Echard's* Two Armies of Epithets, and
 see what *Heroes* and *Saints* are listed on King
Charles's Side; what *Cravens* and *Scoondrels* on the
 Side of the Parliament; whose History is thus
 continu'd by the Author of that of a *Standing*
Army,

Army, said to be written by a Great Minister, and one that did not highly approve of the Administration at that Time; the latter end of King *William's* Reign.

"After this the *Army* let the *Parliament* govern Five Years, who made their Name famous through the Earth; conquer'd their Enemies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, reduce'd the Kingdom of *Portugal* to their own Terms, recover'd our Reputation at Sea, overcame the *Dutch* in several memorable Battels, secur'd our Trade, and manag'd the publick Expences with much Frugality: They were at last passing an Act for their own Dissolution, and settling the Nation in a Free and Impartial *Commonwealth*; of which the *Army* being afraid, thought it necessary to dissolve them. The Reader will find no Distinction in Lord *Clarendon* or Mr. *Echard's* Histories, between the Persons that acted before the *Impeachment* of the *Eleven Members*, and the Violence put upon both King and *Parliament*; and the Persons that acted under the Usurper *Cromwell*. They confound the Government Civil and Military, and make the Actors all alike *Traytors* and *Rebels*. For though they often want Facts, they never want Names, the shortest and only way to be too hard for their Opponents.

In my *Short History* 'tis said farther,

"When the *Army* had done this Wonder of Violence, the Council of Officers set up a new Form of Government, and chose a certain Number of Persons out of every County and City of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, whom they invested with the *Supreme Power*, but soon after expell'd them, and set up *Cromwell*, and fram'd a *New Instrument* of Government by a *Protector*, and a *House of Commons*: in Pursu-

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"ance

“ance of which he call’d a Parliament : But they
 “not answering his Expectation, he excluded all
 “that would not subscribe his *Instrument* ; and
 “those that remain’d not proving for his Purpose
 “neither, he dissolv’d them with a great deal of
 “opprobrious Language. He then divided *Eng-*
 “*land* into several *Districts*, or Divisions, and
 “plac’d Major-Generals or Intendants over
 “them, who govern’d like so many *Basha’s*, de-
 “ciminating Cavaliers, and raising Taxes at their
 “Pleasure : At last, forsooth, he had a mind to
 “make himself King, and call’d another Parlia-
 “ment to that Purpose, after his usual Manner
 “secluding such Members as he did not like. To
 “this Assembly he offer’d another *Instrument* of
 “Government, which was by a *Representative*
 “of the People : A Second House, compos’d of
 “Seventy Members, in the Nature of Lords,
 “and a single Person, and left a *Blank* for what
 “Name he should be call’d, which this worthy
 “Assembly fill’d up with *King* ; address’d *Crom-*
 “*well*, that he would be pleas’d to accept of it,
 “and gave him Power to nominate the Mem-
 “bers of the *other House*. This the great Offi-
 “cers of the Army resented, for it destroy’d all
 “their Hopes of being *Tyrants* in their Turn ;
 “and therefore they address’d the Parliament a-
 “gainst the Power and Government of a *King* ;
 “which made *Cromwell* decline that Title, and
 “content himself with a greater Power, under
 “the Name of *Protector*. Afterwards he nam’d
 “his other House, for the most Part out of Of-
 “ficers of the *Army* : But even this Parliament
 “not pleasing him, he dissolv’d them in a Fury,
 “and govern’d the Nation without any Parlia-
 “ment, till he dy’d.

Here

Here *Oliver's* Usurpation is represented so fairly, and yet so frightfully, that one can't but abhor it much more than his Picture in *Echard*, though he has written *Devil Incarnate* under it, that we might know what it is ; a Shift which some other such Painters are often forc'd to make use of. We see plainly in this *Short History*, that the Author detested *Cromwell's* Proceedings, tho' he approv'd of those of the *Lords* and *Commons*, during the *Civil War*, and thought the *Commonwealth* afterwards govern'd wisely and gloriously. He finishes this Period thus :

" After *Cromwell's* Death, the Army set up
 " his Son *Richard*, who call'd a new Parliament ;
 " but the Soldiers not liking them, they forc'd
 " him to dissolve them. Then they depos'd him,
 " and took the Power into their own Hands :
 " But being unable to weild it, they restor'd the
 " *Commonwealth*, and soon after expell'd them
 " again, because they would not settle the *Arbi-*
 " *trary Sword* independent of the *Civil*. They
 " then govern'd the Nation by a *Council of War*
 " at *Wallingford House*, and chose a *Committee of*
 " *Safety* for the *Executive Part* of the Govern-
 " ment ; which *Whim* lasted but a little Time,
 " before they chose *Conservators of Liberty* ; and
 " that not doing neither, they agreed that every
 " Regiment should chuse *Two Representatives*,
 " and this worthy Council should settle the Na-
 " tion. When they met, sometimes they were
 " for calling a *New Parliament*, sometimes for
 " restoring the Old, which was at last done. By
 " this Means all Things fell into Confusion, which
 " gave *Monk* an Opportunity of marching into
 " *England*, and restoring the King with Part
 " of the *Army* which had cut off his Father's
 " Head.

Thus does this judicious Writer give you a faithful and short History of King *Charles* the First, and the *Interregnum*, till the *Restoration* of King *Charles* the Second, to which I might add a Volume or Two of like Matter ; but I chose to make use of his very Words, for that though my Authority would not weigh against the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and Archdeacon *Echard*'s, yet his will. I confess his Fidelity is preferable to his Elegance, and he does not seem to have study'd *Colouring* so much as *Likeness*. Besides, his Picture is in *Miniature*, and theirs at full Length, with so many Decorations and Ornaments, that 'tis rather all *Show* than *Substance*.

The Reader having carefully run over what my Author says of this Period, may look into the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*, without Fear of being misled, whatever Endeavours have been us'd to impose upon him.

A. D.
1626.
King
Charles I.

The first Occasion of Disgust between King *Charles* and his Parliament, was his protecting Mr. *Richard Montague*, who had asserted the *Divine Right* of *Arbitrary Power*, in a Treatise, entitled, *Appello Casarem*. His Cause, says *Echard*, was recommended to the Duke of Buckingham, as the Cause of the Church by several Bishops, who insisted upon it that King *James* approv'd the *Opinions* in the Book.

Mind the Reasoning here of these Reverend Persons, if the *Historian* speaks Truth. *Montague* is to be excus'd, because he is the Church ; and his *Opinions* justify'd, because they were King *James*'s : The quite contrary of which is only true, that *Montague*'s Cause was not the Cause of the Church, and his *Opinions* not the better for that King's approving them.

Sir *John Elliot*, a *Cornish* Member of *Parliament*, was one of the most zealous against *Montague*

gue and Grievances. Upon which Mr. Archdeacon *Ecbarad* does what I little expected from him, as being not entirely a Stranger to his Opportunities: He tells you boldly, he will lay open the very *Spring* of Sir *John Elliot's* *Resentment*. I shall shorten the Story, but it is to this Purpose, as he makes it.

Sir *John Elliot* had been great with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and travell'd with him Abroad. When he return'd to *England*, he stabb'd a Neighbour of his, Mr. *John Moyle*, whom he hated, for a *Trifle*, and under *Shew* of a *Visit* kill'd him as he thought. Immediately Sir *John* goes to his Friend and Fellow-Traveller the Duke to get him a Pardon, but that could not be got, without laying down a considerable Sum. News came soon after, that the *Dead Man* was *alive* and *lusty*, and there being no need of a Pardon, Sir *John Elliot* apply'd to the Duke to have the Money refunded, which not being to be had, he became his mortal Enemy, as he had good Reason for keeping his Money for nothing. Though I very much suspect the whole Narrative, yet I will touch upon some of the Circumstances. The Historian insinuates by all this, that whatever *Elliot* said about *Grievances*, was not out of Zeal for the Publick Good, but out of Malice to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Is it likely a Man should be in so much Haste to sling away his Money, as to buy a Pardon before he knew whether he wanted one or not? I will do the *Historian* the Justice to acknowledge, that after he has given his own entire *Assent* and *Consent* to the Truth of this Fact, he says Dr. *Prideaux* told him so. If *Authority* will prevail against *Probability*, I submit; only I am satisfy'd the following Part of the Story will be allow'd to be false, when to lessen Sir *John Elliot* further, the same Author assures you, *He was a*

Gentleman of a new Family. I wonder the Doctor, who he tells us is Sir *John's* Grandson, should not have inform'd him better; for the *Elliot's* were one of the oldest Families in the *West of England*. The Reader will observe I am not afraid of this *Historian* nor his Authorities, when I pursue him even in so good a one as that of a Grandson, whose Merit I very much respect, and doubt not of his acquiescing in what I write. The *Elliot's* seated themselves at the Priory of *St. Germain's*, now *Port Elliot* in *Cornwall*, about the Year 1540, Eighty five Years before Sir *John Elliot* was chosen Burgefs for that Borough, 1 Car. 1. This is nothing to what I shall transcribe out of Mr. *Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria*, to prove the Falseness of the Assertion, that the *Elliot's* were a new Family. *Daniel Elliot*, Esq; Grandson of Sir *John*, was Burgefs for *St. Germain's* in several late Parliaments, and Father-in-Law to Mr. *Willis*, who writes thus in the Article of that Borough.

Of the Antiquity of the *Elliot's*, it being expected I should say something, I hope the Reader will pardon my making a little Excursion, while I shall only remark, that they flourish'd Ten Generations in *Devonshire* before they transplanted themselves hither, and had match'd into several considerable Families in that County, as the *Bonviles*, *Sigdon's*, *Cotlands*, *Sumasters*, *Fitz*, *Careswells*, &c. Anno 1433. Temp. Hen. VI. *Walter Elliot*, Esq; was return'd among the Gentry of *Devonshire*: And to this Family, as it should seem by the Arms, was ally'd Sir *Richard Elliot*, made by King *Henry VIII.* one of the Justices of the King's-Bench, who was, as I take it, Father to the famous Sir *Thomas Elliot*. There may be much Malice sometimes in saying Things that are true of a Man: But when they injure

injure him and are not true, I think it deserves another Name.

When the Parliament would give no Money without Redress of *Grievances*, and the King, to use *Whitlock's* Terms, *exact'd a Loan from his Subjects* contrary to Law, how tenderly does this Historian tread upon it? The Project of *borrowing of the People by their own Consents*, was first try'd. How heartily they consented, will appear by the several *Remonstrances* against it in *Rushworth's* Collections, and the Imprisonment of the Gentlemen that refus'd it.

The King being inclin'd to give the Parliament Satisfaction in the Affair of *Montague*, he tells us, when *Land* heard it, he sigh'd and said, *I see a Cloud arising, and threatening the Church of ENGLAND*; but does not speak a Word of the same *Land's* forbidding the Marshal of *Middlesex* to search the *Clink* Prison for *Popish* Priests who were conceal'd there. *Whitlock* mentions it, and other such Matters, very honestly.

Here we may observe, that *Land* again makes *Montague* the Church of England; and, in Imitation of him, every Little Vicar and Curate sets himself up for the Church. His *Dues* are all due to the Church; and a Sixpenny-Piece cannot go beside him, but 'tis wronging the Church, and downright Sacrilege. When the grand Incendiary *Sacheverell* was call'd to Account for Sedition, it was said to be Arraigning the Church. The Mischief of it is, the most unworthy and meanest of the Profession assume to themselves this venerable Name, to protect them against Reproof and Animadversion.

As the Historian delights mightily in Descriptions of Coronations, Marriages, Funerals, Processions, &c. in which the Clergy are chief Actors, so he gives you a long and pompous Description

of King Charles the First's Coronation ; and affirms he was cloath'd in *White*, not out of *Necessity*, but out of *Choice*, to declare the *Virgin Purity* with which he came to be espous'd to his Kingdom. This is so very silly, that I question whether it is true or not ; And therefore must look into *Whitlock* again ; who tells us, *The King was not crown'd till Christmas, his Robe White Satin, Purple not being to be had.* But, false or true, Mr. *Echard's* Reflections upon it, and the *Antitbeses* are exceeding pretty, as the *Robe of Majesty*, and the *Robe of Innocence*, &c. The next Man he falls foul upon, is Dr. *Turner* ; who, for making his famous *Queries* in the House of Commons, has one of the Historian's Military Epithets bestow'd upon him, that of *inconsiderable*. This Dr. *Samuel Turner* was Burgess for *Shaftsbury* in *Dorsetshire*, and deserves a kinder Word from him, because he afterwards deserted the Assembly at *Westminster*, and became *considerable*, by sitting in King Charles's *Mongrel* Parliament at *Oxford*.

When the odious Tax of *Ship-Money* was order'd to be levy'd, and *Dorsetshire* and *London* petition'd against it, alledging there was no Precedent of its being rais'd in that Manner ; to which Answer was made, as in *Whitlock*, *Precedents in former Time were Obedience, and not Direction* : Mr. *Echard* words the Answer much more handsomely ; *Petitions and Pleadings against a necessary Command, do but obstruct the Publick Service, and therefore are not to be admitted.* Which, in plain *English*, is this ; to petition against the Levying an illegal Tax, contrary to the Will and Pleasure of the King, and to the Interest of his Creatures and Ministers, do but obstruct the Measures of arbitrary Power, and therefore are not to be admitted. The Author condemns the *unreasonable Violence* of those Members of Parliament who spoke

4.

against

against the Duke, and complain'd of *Grievances*; and says, his Grace *made a full Defence*.

I should never have done, if I took Notice of such Things as these, which I call *Glosses* and *Misrepresentations*, corrupting the *Virgin Purity* of *History*. I must observe once for all, that in running over his Books, I have mark'd several Hundreds, of which a few will serve to give an Idea of the Author's boasted Impartiality.

Whoever delights in Stories of *Apparitions*, *Revelations*, *Inspirations*, *Magick*, *Healings*, and the like, will be fitted by him, and with Pleasure find the Story of the *Ghost* transplanted from my Lord *Clarendon's History* to *Echard's*, which is indeed the more proper Soil for such Weeds.

Mr. *Echard* has one of the prettiest ways of softening Things that I ever met with. Thus he melts down *Tyrannical Proceedings* into *disobliging Measures*, and he can turn to the other Hand when he pleases; and then *Impeachments* and *Remonstrances* are *Disturbers* of *Parliament*, the *Rochesters* *Rebels*, the *Book of Sports* a *Pious Intention*, *Bishop Juxon* a *Wonderful Treasurer*, *Puritans* *Cheats* tho' not *Whoremasters*, &c. Innumerable are the Instances of this Kind in him, too tedious and too hateful to repeat; yet he closes the Chapter with saying, *Thus with all Simplicity and Fidelity we have gone so far*.

The Reader will find so many *Panegyricks* on *Bishop Laud*, that if he had really been a *Saint* and a *Martyr*, as he represents him, he could not have said more of him; whereas there's nothing so certain in his Character, as *Pride*, *Cruelty*, *Bigotry*, and invincible *Obstinacy*.

An eminent Minister of the Church of *Scotland*, Dr. *Alexander Leighton*, Father of the holy Archbishop of *Glasgow*, whose seraphick Virtues are so celebrated by *Bishop Burnet*, having published

lish'd a Book, entitl'd, *A Plea against Prelacy*; *Laud* procur'd this *Divine* to be prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber*; where he was condemn'd to be imprison'd during the King's Pleasure, to pay 10000 Pounds, to be twice pillory'd, and barbarously whipp'd, to have both his Ears cut off, to have his Nose slit, to have his Face stigmatiz'd. Which Sentence, says *Echard*, was executed upon him with full Severity; but then he adds, His *Obstinacy* requir'd this Punishment: So bloody and inhuman, that I question whether a Lay-Judge could have invented it against a Learned Religious Preacher.

If any bold Writer had dar'd to publish a History so full of Reflections against the Constitution in the Reign of King *Charles* the First, as the Archdeacon's is against the Principles of the *Revolution*, on which the Constitution in the present Reign is founded; would *Laud* have been contented with a Pillory and Whipping, with Ears and a Nose? Let the Historian think of that a little, and how much he is indebted to the Lenity of the Government.

We are in the next place entertain'd with a Miracle: A new *Star* in the Heavens in a clear Sky at the Birth of a Prince, afterwards King *Charles* the Second. When the Reader comes to his Character in the Bishop of *Salisbury's* History, he will doubt whether the People could see clear when they discover'd this *Star*, or whether their Judgments are not in a very thick Cloud, who could think such a Prognostick worthy the Happiness the Nation enjoy'd in that Prince's Reign.

There is not a Man mention'd, whose Character he has labour'd so much as Bishop *Laud's*; and there's hardly a Character in his History which deserv'd his Labour less. He was a Man

of

of great Parts, says our Author, great Learning, an elevated Thought, and vigorous Mind; of a diffusive, generous, and heroick Spirit, and adorn'd with unquestionable Honesty and Integrity. Suppose this Language was translated as follows: "He liv'd about twenty Years in Oxford, and had read a good deal: He was haughty, severe, domineering, bigotted, and obstinate. Does not this better agree with what Judge *Whitlock*, an intimate Friend of his, said of him? *Whit. Mem. p. 32. That he was too full of Fire; and his Want of Experience in State-Matters, and his too much Zeal for the Church, and Heat, if he proceeded in the Way he was in, would set this Nation in a Flame.*

If the Author of the *Secret History of Europe* had had this Quotation before him, he would not have been so cautious in relating a Passage concerning Archbishop *Laud*, which is reported on the Credit of the last *Vere*, Earl of Oxford. When King *Charles* the First was a Prisoner in *Holmby-House*, that Noble Lord had Leave to be confin'd with him; and his Lordship one Day deploring the Fate of this Archbishop, who had lost his Life for his Majesty. For me? reply'd the King hastily: No, he dy'd for his own Ambition; and that you may be sensible of it, I'll give you an Instance of his Temper. He persuaded me to write Letters to the Protestant Princes and States of Europe, and propose to them, that He, as Archbishop of Canterbury, should be own'd and declar'd by them to be the Metropolitan and Head of all the Protestant Churches; which when they utterly declin'd, he would have had me declare War against them, and shed the Blood of my own Subjects and of my Friends. This agrees at least with what Judge *Whitlock* says he knew of the Man; and on that Foot I leave it.

Certain

Certain it is, *Laud* busy'd himself in Court-Affairs to a Scandal, and tempted *Dr. Juxon* to do the same. *Dr. Preston* a Puritan, and one of the greatest Lights of that Age, was offer'd the *Great Seal* in the Beginning of this Reign, but being a Man of Piety and Wisdom he refus'd it. *He was too wise to accept it*, says *Bishop Burnet*. *Laud* was a very active and assiduous Judge in the *Star-Chamber*, a Court almost as cruel and infamous as the *Inquisition*, and *Juxon* was made *Lord Treasurer*. What would become of the Christian Religion, if all *Pastors* were of this Spirit! What Agreement between the Humility, Simplicity, Modesty, Moderation and Charity of the Primitive Bishops, and the Ambition, Avarice, Haughtiness, Severity and Cruelty of those that liv'd in *Laud's* Time, and follow'd his Example; who, *Mr. Echard* assures us, had the *Innocence* of the Dove, but not the *Wisdom* of the Serpent? How consistent is this *Dove-like Innocence* with the *Fire* that wou'd set the Nation in a Flame! How he proceeded against *Mr. Prynne*, *Dr. Bastwick* and *Mr. Burton*: How he beggar'd them, imprison'd them, pillory'd them, had their Ears cut off, &c. is told in all our Histories. And whoever has a Curiosity to know more of his Life and Actions, may find it in the Articles of *Impeachment* against him by the House of Commons.

The Malice with which the Archdeacon introduces *Mr. Prynne's* Sufferings, is equally groundless and inhuman. 'Tis well known that *Laud* got *Heylin* to collect some Passages out of *Prynne's Histriomastix* written against Plays, on Purpose to irritate the Court, who much encourag'd them. The Truth is, there were innumerable Citations and Reflections against such Bishops as *Laud* was, and Church Government, as he manag'd it. Having got a Bundle of *Heylin's* Collections, he

carry'd

carry'd them to Noy the Attorney-General upon a Sunday Morning, sat himself in Judgment upon Mr. Pryn and his Fellow-Sufferers ; and let us see how his Wisdom and Piety shone forth in the Sentence that was pronounc'd against those three Gentlemen, the one a Lawyer, the other a *Physician*, and the other a *Divine*. Mr. Pryn had been as barbarously us'd before, and therefore was fin'd 5000 l. to lose the Remainder of his Ears, to be branded on both Cheeks, to be perpetually imprison'd : The same to Dr. Bastwick and Mr. Burton. Echard tells you, to excuse this *Tyranny* and *Blood*, that there were some Things in *Histriomastix* that tended to the *Destruction of the King's Person* ; which needs no Remark. For no body will doubt but that these cruel Persecutors, who cou'd torture and mangle the Bodies of Three Gentlemen better born, and as well educated as *Laud*, wou'd have hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd them, if they had said a word of such horrid Tendency. *Laud* wou'd have the Stumps of Pryn's Ears par'd away. Pryn was afterwards a Member in several Parliaments for the City of *Bath*, very instrumental in King *Charles* the II'd's Restoration ; and it is to him we owe the admirable Order in which the *Tower* Records are now plac'd.

When *Felton* was brought before the Council after he had assassinated the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Laud* threaten'd him with the Rack to extort a Confession from him : But that Assassin in his Answer shew'd a juster Sentiment of Torture than the Bishop that menac'd him with it : *I cannot tell whom I may nominate in the Extremity of Pain*, but disown'd that any one induc'd him to commit the Murder.

The Words *Vigorous* and *Active* in Mr. *Echard* are almost always to be understood *Cruel* and *Severe*,

vere, especially when apply'd to *Laud's* and *Straford's* Ministry. Indeed his History is so decorated with Epithets on one Side, and so bespatter'd on the other, that there's no coming at a little Truth without removing the Rubbish and Flowers.

The infamous Imposition of *Ship-Money* is hardly a *disobliging* Measure with him. The Glory we got at Sea by it, which I never heard of before, nor of any Glory at all got in the four *Reigns* preceding the Revolution, seem to him a sufficient Ground for the levying it; and he blames the People of *England* for insisting on their Right in a Trifle of 240000 *l.* a Year, which cou'd not be a *heavy Burthen*. He took an Observation from *A. Wood*, that *Selden* in his *Mare Clausum* stops at the Reign of *Henry II.* because it *must have open'd a Way to this Tax*, had he gone farther. A very sorry Artifice, and ill disguis'd, that could not escape the Remark of *A. Wood* and Archdeacon *Echard*; but so unworthy the Extent and Dignity of Mr. *Selden's* Genius and Learning, that they will never be able to persuade us of the Truth of their Discovery.

What is said by our *Historian* of the Judges Opinion in Favour of *Ship-Money*, is another Gloss and Misrepresentation. He sinks the Account *Whitlock* gives of it, that they were *flatter'd and threaten'd into it by Finch*; and affirms, *Many believ'd with Sir Philip Warwick, that no body could have led them into it but their Books.* Who are these many? Are they *Lawyers* and *Men of Sense*, such as *Clarendon* and *Whitlock*? or Bigots and Favourites, such as *Laud* and *Juxon*? He adds, *These Judges were noted for their Learning and Integrity.* How does this agree with a Speech by the Lord *Falkland*, on whom he bestows ten or twenty most honourable Epithets in the

the Course of his Work. His Lordship is inveighing against *Ship-Money*, and the *Judges*:

You have done nothing, says he to the Parliament, *if you do no more; the Judges shou'd have been as Dogs to defend the Sheep, but have prov'd as Wolves to worry them.* He charges these Men of Learning and Integrity, as the Cause of all our Miseries; and mark'd out *Finch* the Lord-Keeper as the principal *Adviser* and *Abettor* in this Matter. The House of Commons, *Nemine Contradicente*, declar'd the Judges Opinion extrajudicial, and condemn'd the Tax. But these very Judges supporting the *Spiritual Courts*, cou'd not fail of being highly in his good Graces.

It will be absolutely necessary for the *English* Reader, when he enters upon the *Historian's* Account of the *Scottish* Troubles, to have Bishop *Burnet's* History by him. He can then receive no Damage in his Sense of Things, which otherwise he wou'd have a very imperfect Notion of. Speaking of the Bishops made by King *Charles I.* in *Scotland*, he names Two or Three advanc'd purely by the Interest of Archbishop *Laud*, particularly *Sydserfe* Bishop of *Ross*, who being complain'd of in Council for setting up a Sort of *Inquisition* in his Diocese, gave the Earl of *Argyle* the *Lye*. He and the other Bishops, to use the Bishop of *Sarum's* Words, were so encourag'd by Archbishop *Laud*, that they lost all Temper; and as Judge *Whitlock* had foretold, by means of this Dove-like Prelate, both Nations were immediately in a Flame.

I cannot omit observing here, that Mr. *Echar* speaking of this Earl of *Argyle's* Resentment, imputes it to his being refus'd the Office of Lord-Chancellor; and this is his Way thro' his whole Work. There's no Person of Consideration in Opposition to Tyranny and Persecution, but his Motive

Motive is Disgust at some Church or State Disappointment; as if the Ministers of State, and the Heads of the Church, Imitators of *Laud's* Measures, were all Doves, and those that complain'd of *Grievances* Ecclesiastical or Civil, had no Reason at all to complain, but were, as he insinuates, *factionous*, prejudic'd Fellows, fit Objects for the *wholesome Severities* they met with.

Well may the Rupture between King *Charles I.* and the *Scots*, be term'd *Bellum Episcopale*; for *Laud*, *Fuxon*, and *Wren*, were the Bishops who put the King upon imposing a *Liturgy* and *Canons* on that Church; and *Laud* wou'd hear of no Accommodation, no Delay, tho' press'd to it even by Archbishop *Spotswood*. Yet our Author makes no Scruple of asserting, that *Laud's real Advice was for Peace*: The Proof of which, from any Lay Hand, I despair of meeting with. Besides imposing the *Service-Book*, *Canons*, *Surplice*, &c. on the Church of *Scotland*, Bishop *Burnet* takes notice of many other just Occasions of Jealousy and Disgust given them. *All that came down from Court, complain'd of the King's inexorable Stiffness, of the Progress of Popery, of the Queen's Power with the King, of the Favour shew'd the Pope's Nuntio.* And concludes thus: "The Violence with which that Kingdom did almost unanimously engage against the Administration, may easily convince one, that the Provocation must have been very great, to draw on such an entire and vehement Concurrence against it."

I have already observ'd, that Mr. *Echard's* Method of imputing the Zeal of those Gentlemen who acted for the publick Good, to private *Pique*, is intended to shew that there was really no other Offence given. This wipes off all Stains, and cleanses the Administration from all Impurities.

Another Method he has from first to last to excuse his *Heroes* and *Saints* when beaten and confounded, which is, *If such a Thing, or such a Thing had been said or done*, the *Roundheads* and *Puritans* wou'd not have had the better. This Remark concerning his *After-Wit* is almost general in his *History of the Civil Wars*; in which if such a Thing had happen'd, or such a Man been present, or the like, the *Cavaliers* had been always victorious. These Reflections are as poor, as his *Miracles*, *Portents* and *Judgments* are visionary and enthusiastical.

He tells us, notwithstanding the general Provocation before-mention'd, *Wise Men have thought*, if *Two or Three of the Kirk had been put to Death*, it wou'd have sav'd the succeeding *Torrent of Blood*. These *Laudean Surgeons*, as I have more than once hinted, have no other Cure but *Amputation* and *Pblebotomy*. The Conspiracy against Archbishop *Laud* form'd by the *Jesuits*, is a Piece of History I heartily recommend to the Reader, with the Account of the Hatred which the *Papists* bore him. The Author borrow'd it from Dr. *Heylin*, and assures you Mr. *Wharton* sufficiently confirm'd it. What Sort of Men his *Wharton* and his *Heylin* were, we may learn in Bishop *Burnet's History*. While *Laud's Enemies* did really magnify him by their inhuman Persecution, his Friends *HEYLIN* and *WHARTON* have as much lessen'd him, the one by writing his *Life*, and the other by publishing his *Vindication of himself*. Men that can speak such Things with grave Faces, do not deserve Confutation. To repeat what they say, effectually confutes them.

The Preparations the Historian makes for opening the *Long Parliament*, are all very extraordinary and uncommon; but chiefly the great Noises
O which

which were heard by the Lord *Say's* Servants, when they cou'd see no body in his House.

The Characters of the Leading Men in the Two Houses are servile Copies after Lord *Clarendon's*, of which a merry Wag said, *They are like Plumbs in an ill-made Pudding, and run all to one Side.*

I shall in the following Pages give some Account of the Authors the Archdeacon takes his Memoirs from; and with great Simplicity names them too in his Preface. I never impose my own Authority on the Reader, knowing full well its Insignificancy, but shall take their Characters even from the Adorers of *Laud* and *Strafford*. Among the rest, the Earl of *Clarendon* himself is charg'd by *A. Wood* of *Oxford*, with several Qualities very incompatible with the Sincerity of an *Historian*. He tells us he procur'd himself to be chosen a Member of Parliament for *Salisbury*, and that he distinguish'd himself by making warm Speeches against the *Court of Honour*, against certain *Judges*; nay, against the very *Bishops*, being Chairman of the Committee that suppress'd Episcopacy; against the *President and Council of the North*; against *Ship-Money*, &c. Compare these good Sentiments of his with those in his History, after he chang'd Sides, and was made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and Lord Chancellor. *Wood* adds, he was wont to take the King by the *Band-Strings*, and pull him by the *Cloak*, which was look'd upon to savour of too much Impudence, says the *Oxonian*. That afterwards, as Chancellor of *Oxford*, he put the University to more Trouble in Seven Years, than his Successors did in Seventeen. That he broke King *Charles* the Second's Match with the Princess of *Parma*, to marry him to the Infanta of *Portugal*: But what is more to the present Purpose, is, that he was guilty of Corruption

tion in his Office of Lord Chancellor. *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 386. These are all *A. Wood's* Words, whose Love to the Memory of *Monkery* exceeds our Historian's. Yet the latter in his Preface, gives himself one of the most insolent *Airs* I ever met with, as if none but Fools and Fanaticks had ever been offended with the Lord *Clarendon* and his History; but when he speaks of such as Censure him, he has one Word for my Lord, and Two for himself. Mr. *Echard's* Art lying generally in the Surface, and discovering it self at Sight; I shall consider that notable Preface of his farther, in the Second Part to this Treatise, and shew both its Folly and Vanity, which are rather a Subject for Mirth than Criticism; and I shall not banish Pleasantry from that Treatise, though the Importance of the Matter in this wou'd not bear it so well.

When notorious Truth obliges Mr. *Echard*, or his Originals, to speak something well of a Man on the other Side, they are sure to damn all his good Qualities by Two or Three bad ones. Mr. *Hampden's* Character was so conspicuously bright, that they cou'd not help its shining after they had blown upon it. But *Echard* gives you his Word for it, that his *Humility was affected, and as none had ever a greater Power over himself, so none was less the Man he seem'd to be.* I have said enough of these Pictures; and I say again, the Earl of *Clarendon* had a fruitful and fine *Imagination*, and a most beautiful *Colouring*: But, like other great Painters, did not so much consider the *Likeness*, as the *Variety and Beauty*. Mr. *Echard* is only a *Copier*; as faulty as they are in Resemblance, I'm satisfy'd he will not pretend that he cou'd have drawn them by himself. 'Tis admirably well said of *Madam Dacier*, speaking of *Critical Parallels*, It is a most difficult Enter-

prize : The Person who holds the Scale, must in himself have the Strength of the Two Genius's, which he weighs one against the other, or he will let it drop, and it may be on the wrong Side as well as on the Right. Thus in *drawing a Character*, the *Drawer* must be capable of thinking, acting, and judging, as well as the Person he describes, or his *Draught* will be lame and imperfect. Generous Education, Conversation, Politeness, Extent of Knowledge, are but Part of the Qualifications necessary for such a *Draughtsman* : Fidelity and Judgment must crown the Work, or it will be *Horace's Monster*, as my Lord Roscommon has translated it.

*If in a Picture, Piso, you shou'd see
A bandsome Woman with a Fishes Tail,
Or a Man's Head upon a Horse's Neck,
Or Limbs of Beasts of the most different Kind,
Cover'd with Feathers of all Sorts of Birds ;
Wou'd you not laugh, and think the Painter mad ?
Trust me, that Book is as ridiculous.*

Many of the Historian's Characters, when I have compar'd them with other *Draughts*, have had the same Effect upon me.

The Day on which the *Long Parliament* met, was thought ominous, says Mr. *Echard* ; and his Reason for it is equally sagacious and edifying, because the Parliament which sat in *Henry the VIIIth's* Time, and ended with the *Diminution of the Clergy's Power*, began the same Day. Truly he has some Ground to cry out an Omen, when at the opening of the Session, the Speeches ran vehemently against *Laudean Innovations, Ecclesiastical Courts, Ship-Money, Judges, &c.* Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* said, *The Judges have overthrown the Laws, and the Bishops the Gospel.* Sir *Edward Deering*

Deering pumm'd upon the Archbishop of Canterbury very roughly: *Before the Tear runs round, his Grace will either have more Grace, or no Grace at all. Our manifold Grievs do fill a mighty and vast Circumference. Tet so that from every Part our Lines of Sorrow do lead to Him, and point at Him, the Center from whence our Miseries in Church, and many of them in the Commonwealth, do flow. Again, God's true Religion is violently invaded by Two seeming Enemies, but indeed like Herod and Pilate, fast Friends for the Destruction of the Truth: The Papists for one Party, and the Prelating Faction for the other. He declar'd farther, I had rather serve one as far off as Tiber, than to have him come so near as the Thames. A Pope at Rome would do me less Hurt than a Pope at Lambeth. From these and several other Speeches to the same Effect, it appears very plainly that Laud and his Creatures were really the Men, who by promoting Superstition, imposing Subscriptions, by severe and arbitrary Prosecutions, by preaching up Despotick Power, and endeavouring to subvert the Constitution in Church and State, had infus'd into the People an Aversion to the Hierarchy. I know the smaller Clergy cannot distinguish themselves under Pious and Worthy Prelates, but by Piety and Worth. Under such as Laud, Zeal and Flame will serve instead of Merit.*

When these zealous and flaming Priests are spoken against, they pretend the Design is against the Church and Bishops, which is as false as their other Pretences. I my self expect a Share of their Fury and Malignity. But take this Occasion to inform the Reader, that as much Abhorrence as I have for the Proceedings of Laud and his Creatures in King Charles the First's Reign, I have as great a Veneration for the Sacred Function, and for such Prelates as Tillotson, Tennison,

Wake, Burnet, Willis, Talbot, Gibson, Headly, and the Reverend Fathers of our Church, now its Ornament and Safety, as the Historian himself, and cou'd have Proof of it from some of them. It is easy to be prov'd, that *Episcopacy* had never been depress'd as it was by this Parliament, if *Laud, Wren,* and others, had not provok'd them by their Cruelty and Oppression. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* explain'd the Sentiments of every sober Protestant.

Having spoken warmly against the *Becket* and *Wolsey* Prelates, he added, *If I found out one good Cranmer, Latimer, or Ridley, I shou'd esteem them as rich Jewels fit to be set in the King's own Cabinet.*

Mr. Echard, that he may leave no Attempt of the Parliament to secure their Liberties without his Protest against it, gives you at once a Prophecy and a Quibble in Dishonour of the Bill for *Triennial Parliaments*. A Lady writing a Letter into the Country, said, the King had pass'd the *Tyrannical Parliament*, instead of the *Triennial*. 'Tis more than probable, that the Fault was in her Ladyship's Spelling; and yet with such Matter does he adorn his History, looking down in his wonderful Preface upon all Mankind, and expecting their Praise and Adoration.

The Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal is a new Occasion for his *Satyr* and *Panegyrick*. On the one Side there's *Mr. Pym* with *his Artifices*, on the other Side the Earl with his *Eloquence*. His *Speech ready and strong, pleasing and captivating, especially with the Ladies, who every Day took down in writing all that they cou'd preserve of his charming Eloquence.* For like Honey some of it wou'd slide thro' their Fingers. And he soon shew'd he could wrestle with all the Managers against him. This is as modest an Expression as one cou'd

could wish for; that is, he had more *Law* than Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Palmer*, more *Learning* than Mr. *Selden*, more *Eloquence* than Mr. *Hampden*, Lord *Digby*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *St. John*. However, in another Place he seems to confess that the Managers were hard enough for him, though to do it he puts a very indecent Pun into the Mouth of the Queen, who asking what Man that was who spoke after the Lord *Digby*, was told Sir *Walter Earl*, and reply'd thus: *That Water Dog could bark but not bite, but the rest bit close.*

His Panegyrick on the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission Courts*, which, says he, *might have been of excellent use to the Church*, is a great Curiosity, after not a Mortal had dar'd to speak for them in seventy Years Time.

There being an Order for removing all scandalous Pictures, Crosses and Figures then within Churches, he tells us 'twas left to the Management of Sir *Robert Harlow*; and this zealous Knight impartially took down the Cross in Cheapside, Charing-cross, and other like Monuments, even to the common Signs in the Streets. For, continues he, every Thing that had the least Form of a Cross, was accounted superstitious and damnable. Can there be any viler Sophistry, supposing the Fact to be true, which I will not grant? Was a Cross-beam, or a Cross-bow accounted superstitious and damnable, or any other Cross not intended to imitate a Crucifix? Was it the Figure, or the Worship paid to it, which was accounted Superstition! I can't imagine why he blunders here in the Name of the zealous Knight, which was not *Robert Harlow*, but *Robert Harley*.

With what surprizing Tenderness does he speak of the bloody *Irish Massacre*, in which the Papists murder'd 200000 Persons. Men, Women and

Children were most cruelly us'd. The Women ript up and treated most filthily and barbarously. The Infants us'd like Toads or Vermin. All this and a great deal more, which may be found in Sir John Temple and Dr. Jones's Narratives, he calls only an Astonishing Concussion, and reserves the Grand Rebellion for the Lords and Commons of England. He says, It had been prevented, if the Earl of Strafford had not been taken off. The complying with the Scots also, may justly be said to be one of the true Causes of this horrid Insurrection.

Speaking of the Lord Digby's Attempt to raise a Force at Kingston, he tells us, *He went thither accompany'd with Colonel Lunsford in a Coach with Six Horses, and these Six were all the Horse that appear'd, not a Groom or a Footman on Horseback besides. Then to render it ridiculous by his cold Raillery, he adds, The Commons immediately order'd the Train-Bands of Sussex and Hampshire to be sent to suppress the said Digby, Lunsford, and their Coach and Six Horses. And as aukward as he is at Witticisms, he throws you out another: People reported that Colonel Lunsford did eat Children. If it had not been for his Wit here, I shou'd have pass'd over this new Misrepresentation: We meet with them so frequently, they grow tiresome to repeat. Whitlock assures us, Digby first appear'd in Arms near Kingston, and Calamy tells it thus: The Lord Digby, and other Cavaliers attempted at Kingston upon Thames to have suddenly got together a Body of Horse; but the Party was dissipated, the Parliament highly resented it, and Digby was voted a Delinquent.*

His whole Story about the Design of bringing the King's Army from the North, is one continual Misrepresentation.

He begins with saying, *The Design of the Conspirators was to observe and defend the Laws, that the*

the King might not be compell'd by the Army of the Scots to do any Thing against the Bishops or Arbitrary Power, which he terms *Alteration of the Government of the Church*, and *Dimination of his Majesty's just and legal Authority*. I believe his Language is understood by this Time.

He represents Goring as disgusted for not being made a *Lieutenant-General*, and therefore he drew them in farther. Whereas in truth not only Goring confess'd the Plot was to awe the Parliament, and make them do what the King should command, but Sir Jacob Astley, Colonel Oneal, and Sir Fulk Hunks, acknowledg'd before the House of Commons, Some near the King had treated with them about bringing up the Army; which, says Calamy, satisfy'd many that the King did but watch, while he quieted them with Promises, to master them with Force, and use them at his Pleasure. All the Writers, not of Laud's Party, agree in this with the Fact and common Sense: For if these Conspirators were upon nothing illegal and dangerous, why were they so cautious and secret in their Conferences, as to refuse to admit Sir John Suckling among them?

When he describes the King's Court at York, he flourishes as if he had already triumph'd over the Two Houses of Parliament, which he calls the *small Remainder at Westminster*; as he says in another Place, The King's Troops of Guards were Men of better Estates than the Two Houses of Lords and Commons that continu'd at London. However, in a Page or two after he owns the King had no Provision for an Army, nor Money to purchase any, and the Prince and Duke eat at his own Table out of mere Want. If so, some of these Lifeguard Men doubtless far'd every whit as well.

When

When he sets up the *Royal Standard* at *Nottingham*, he is quite out of Heart on Account of several ill *Omens*, but he recovers himself as soon as the King's Men began Fighting, and almost always gives them the Victory. He opens the Scene with *Edgehill-Fight*, and tells Two remarkable Stories, to which the Reader will give like Credit. *Several Popish Priests were found among the Dead on the Parliament Side, and Oliver Cromwell out of Cowardice hid himself in a Steeple*, while the Two Armies were engag'd. These are Things which one need only take Word for Word from him, to expose their Meanness and Malice.

The Parliament were sensible of the Advantage their General the Earl of *Essex* had obtain'd over the King in that Battel. Both Houses receiv'd him at his Return with all the Marks of Honour, and voted Thanks,

TO REMAIN UPON RECORD IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT FOR A MARK OF HONOUR TO HIS PERSON, NAME AND FAMILY, AND FOR A MONUMENT OF HIS SINGULAR VIRTUE TO POSTERITY.

The Historian has very maliciously chang'd his TYPES here, in a Fancy that the *Thanks* of the Parliament of *England* to their General in this Glorious Manner would, if the *Printer* stood by him, be an *uncommon* Reflection both on the Two Houses, and the Earl of *Essex*.

The Parliament having pass'd an Ordinance for *exhorting to the Duty of Repentance*, this bold Author asserts, they chose *Idolatry* and *Bloodshed* for their Subjects, and made their *Devotion a Libel on the King and the Church*.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* in his *Memoirs of Duke Hamilton*, gives an Account of the *Scots Affairs* under *Hamilton* and *Montrose*, which our

Histo-

Historian thinks fit to gainsay; because he copy'd after Bishop Guthry, who seems to have had a fuller Information than Bishop Burnet, who had it from Duke Hamilton himself. A Fuller Information is with him in more Places than one, a Report contrary to the Historians who wrote in Defence of the Parliament, or indeed contrary to what he does not like.

The judicious Observation he makes on the Death of Mr. Hampden, deserves not to be forgotten; Many Men observ'd, that Chalgrave Field, where this Gentleman receiv'd his Death's Wound, was the same Place in which he first executed the Ordinance of the Militia.

Among the many Historical Falsities I have, and might have charg'd him with, I think one of the most notorious, is his saying King Charles had but one Field Officer in his Army suppos'd to be a Papist, and that was Sir Arthur Aston.

I have before me a List printed by the Papists, of the Popish Noblemen and Gentlemen that lost their Lives or Estates in his Service. 'Twas Publish'd in King Charles the Second's Reign, with an Intent to incite that Prince to exert his Authority in Favour of them. And as Mr. Echard's Panegyricks and Satyrs consist pretty much in Types, the Papists have printed all their long List in Red Letters, to shew what Bloody-minded Creatures the Parliamentarians were to kill them in so many Battels and Sieges. The whole List would take up several Pages, so I shall insert a Part only.

Popish Lords and Gentlemen in King Charles the First's Army, who were kill'd,

The Earl of Carnarvon.

The Lord Viscount Dunbar.

Sir

Sir John Smith, Baronet.

Sir John Cansfield.

Sir Henry Gage.

Sir John Digby.

Sir Peter Brown.

Sir Nicholas Fortescue.

Sir Troylus Turberville, Captain-Lieutenant of
the King's Life-Guard.

Sir John Preston.

Sir Thomas Tildesley.

Sir Arthur Asbton.

Besides	{	14 Colonels.
		17 Lieutenant-Colonels.
		14 Majors.
		66 Captains.
		18 Lieutenants and Cornets.
	{	38 Gentlemen.

Wounded and Sequester'd.

Major General William Webb.

Marquess of Winchester.

Marquess of Worcester.

Lord Cottington.

Lord Langdale.

Piercy Lord Powis.

Lord Somerset.

Lord Arundel of Wardour.

Lord Morley and Monteagle.

Lord Eure.

William Lord Powis.

Sir Walter Blount.

Sir Edward Widdrington, Colonel.

Sir Philip Constable.

Sir John Clavering.

Sir Nicholas Thornton.

And several Hundred more of the same and
inferior Rank.

It

It will be necessary to present the Reader with another List, and that is of the *Assembly of Divines*. For when the Historian comes to speak of them, he tells us from my Lord Clarendon, That *some were infamous in their Lives and Conversations, and most of them of very mean Parts, if not of scandalous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation than of Malice to the Church*; than which nothing can be more false and malicious.

Notwithstanding what he says in his Preface, to terrify every one that would offer to object against the Veracity of the *History of the Rebellion* and his own History, I will insert a List of some of the Members of that *Assembly*, and then let the Reader judge of the Truth of the Character that's given them of their *Infamy and Ignorance*. It consisted of Lay Members as well as Ministers.

Algernoon Earl of Northumberland.

William Earl of Bedford.

Philip Earl of Pembroke.

William Earl of Salisbury.

Henry Earl of Holland.

Edward Earl of Manchester.

William Lord Viscount Say and Seal.

Edward Lord Conway.

Philip Lord Wharton.

Edward Lord Howard.

John Selden, Esq;

Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq;

John Glyn, Esq;

Mr. Serjeant Wild.

John Pym, Esq;

William Pierrepont, Esq;

Sir Henry Vane, Sen.

Sir Henry Vane, Jun.

Sir Thomas Clotworthy.

Francis Rous, Esq;

Sir

Sir Thomas Barrington,
Walter Young, Esq;
Sir John Evelyn,
Edmund Prideaux, Esq;
William Wheeler, Esq;
Sir Benjamin Rudyard,
William Twisse, D. D.
William Gouge, D. D.
Thomas Temple, D. D.
Lazarus Seaman, D. D.
Anthony Tuckney, D. D.
Henry Wilkinson, Sen. D. D.
Henry Wilkinson, Jun. D. D.
William Spurstow, D. D.
Francis Cheynel, D. D.
Humphry Chambers, D. D.
Joshua Hoyle, D. D.
Edmund Staunton, D. D.
Peter Smith, D. D.
John Arrowsmith, D. D.
John Lightfoot, D. D.
Edward Reynolds, D. D.
Cornelius Burges, D. D.
Thomas Whitaker, B. D.
Robert Harris, B. D.
Oliver Bowles, B. D.
George Walker, B. D.
Edmund Calamy, B. D.
Stephen Marshall, B. D.
Thomas Valentine, B. D.
Herbert Palmer, B. D.
Henry Painter, B. D.
Thomas Hill, B. D.
Obadiab Sedgewick, B. D.
William Mew, B. D.
Henry Hall, B. D. &c.

I shall not animadvert upon the before-mentioned Passage farther than to observe, 'tis very probable Mr. *Echard* had read Dr. *Calamy's* Reflection upon it, and his List of *this* Assembly, before he copy'd from the Lord *Clarendon*, yet he would not lose an Opportunity of leaving them as dirty as he found them.

Dr. *Calamy* reflects upon it thus :

“ This is a very heavy Charge upon such a
 “ Body of Men as they were. Though my Lord
 “ *Clarendon* was undoubtedly a very great Man,
 “ yet this Censure won't recommend his History
 “ to Posterity, who will be hard put to it to find
 “ Men of more exemplary Piety, and more eminent
 “ ministerial Abilities among their Progenitors
 “ in any Age, than these were, whom he
 “ endeavours at any Rate to expose. Who can
 “ give Credit to him as an *Historian*, who shall
 “ represent such Men as Dr. *Twiss*, Bishop *Reynolds*,
 “ Dr. *Arrowsmith*, Dr. *Tuckney*, Dr. *Lightfoot*,
 “ Mr. *Gataker*, &c. as Men of Scandalous
 “ Ignorance ?

Life of Baxter,
p. 84.

Or who believe that so many Noble Lords, so many learned and eminent Knights and Gentlemen, so many famous Lawyers, and so many Reverend Divines, would consent to be of a Company with such ignorant and scandalous Fellows ?

How the Dignity as well as Truth of History is supported in his Works, may be seen by his Relation of the Rise of *Cromwell*, wherein he rather takes Measure of him like a *Taylor*, than describes him as an *Historian*. His first Appearance was apparelled in a Cloth Suit, made by an ill Country *Taylor*. His Linnen mean, and not very clean ; his Band unfashionable, with a Speck or Two of Blood upon it, a very bad Omen that : His Hat without a Hatband ; his Sword close to his Side. What a Man here is, to make himself Master of

Three

Three Kingdoms, and to become more formidable to all the Powers of *Europe*, than ever was this King, his Father King *James*, or his Two Sons? No Man can vindicate the entire Character of the *Usurper*, yet I can't but take notice of the Barrenness of such Minds as can record these Trifles in General History.

We are told of *John White*, Esq; Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons for ejecting Scandalous Ministers, that he dy'd Distracted, crying out, *How many Clergymen, their Wives and Children, have I undone.* In *Baxter's* Life you have it thus: "The House of Commons appointed a Committee to hear Petitions and Complaints against the Scandalous Clergy. Multitudes came up immediately to Town from all Quarters, with Petitions against their Ministers, charging them with *Insufficiency, False Doctrine, Illegal Innovations, or Scandal.* Mr. *White* publish'd a *Century* of them, which was afterwards follow'd with a *Second Century*, both fill'd with most *abominable Particularities, the concealing which* had certainly been a much greater Service to Religion than their Publication, which was making Sport for *Papists, Atheists, and Profane.*

The Authors our *Historian* made Use of, could not avoid writing Encomiums on their Patron, Archbishop *Laud.* *Heylin* wrote for Money as well as Malice, and abuses every Man that comes in his way, if he was not such a *Churchman* as *Laud.*

A. Wood, who cannot hide his Good-will to Popery, speaks however so plainly of this *Heylin*, that had not Mr. *Echard* been in Love with his Principles and Temper, he wou'd never have copy'd him as he does. *Wood* tells us he was very conceited and *pragmatical*, and though of very

mean

mean Port and Presence; yet bold, undaunted, and too high and proud for his Function. In a word, that he was too much a Party to be an Historian. The Archdeacon was of another Mind, and this Caution from the Oceanian, A. Wood, was thrown away upon him. The Faction he wrote for, have always been Enemies to the City of London, except in those wretched Times, when Priestcraft has made them the prevailing one there. And Haylin wrote a Book, call'd the *Black + Cross*, to prove the *Londoners* were the Cause of the *Rebellions*.

There is not one Author of Worth and Reputation, who has given Bishop *Laud* a good Word, as to his Politicks Spiritual and Temporal. *Haylin* is as dull and impertinent, as he is malicious and inveterate: *Nalson* tedious, confus'd, and vicious both in Style and Sentiment. About the Time of the Discovery of the *Papish Plot*, this *Nalson* was seiz'd and imprison'd for a Seditious Libel, by Order of the House of Commons; which shews us how much his Authors are all of a Piece, and what Enemies to the true Protestant Religion and Liberty. Another of his Authors, *Manley*, is false and trifling: *Perinches*, *Simmons*, *Burrow*, *Wagstaff*, Nameless and Obscure. *Dugdale* was a Man of Labour, and Master of our Monkish Antiquities. However, his *View of the Troubles* is a very poor Performance; but Peace be to its *Manes*; it being dead and forgotten, for the sake of his *Baronage*. As to *Perinches*, he was set to Work by *Royston* the Bookseller, and is the same who in a Sermon on the 30th of January, affirm'd to his Auditory, that a Handkerchief with some Specks of King *Charles* the First's Blood, had cured many Distempers with a Touch only.

He wrote a Book against *Liberty of Conscience* to Protestant Dissenters, and put his Name to a Romance about *Emory Basilius*, though the Matter was collected or invented by one *William Fulman*, who falling Sick, *Royston* hir'd this Doctor to publish it.

The best of his Authors, Sir *Philip Warwick*, *An honest but weak Man*; though there are others that will by no Means allow his Honesty; as *A. Wood* from an Anonymous Writer, who says of him, *that he never lies more than when he professes to speak the Sincerity of his Heart*. I affect to give the Characters of the Authors *Echard* copies, from *A. Wood*, for that they were both of the same Stamp, *staunch* in the highest Degree, and zealous for the Hereditary Right, Spiritual Tyranny and Persecution. As for his *Barrow*, *Simmons*, and *Wagstaffe*, they had never been named, if he had not call'd them out of their Obscurity to his Assistance. *Heylin* and *Nalson* are favourite Authors with him, and no wonder, *Laud* is represented as a *Saint* and *Martyr*.

When the Bishop's Head was cut off upon an Impeachment of *High Treason*, &c. *Such was his triumphant End*, cries Mr. *Echard*; as upon another such Occasion, a Man being hang'd in the same Cause, *he dy'd nobly*; or in a more proper Cant, *he went off Bluff*. Now on what Ground Bishop *Laud's* Triumphant End was erected, we shall see by the Account the Bishop of *Salisbury* gives of him.

“ He was a hot and indiscreet Man, eagerly
 “ pursuing some Matters that were either very
 “ inconsiderable or mischievous; such as setting
 “ the *Communion Table* by the East Walls of the
 “ Church, bowing to it, and calling it the *Altar*;
 “ the suppressing the *Walloon Privileges*, the
 “ break-

“ breaking of *Lectures*; the Encouragement of
 “ *Sports* on the *Lord's-Day*; with some other
 “ Things that were of no Value: And yet all
 “ the Heat and Zeal of the Time was laid out
 “ on these. His Severity in the *Star-Chamber*,
 “ and in the *High-Commission Courts*; but above
 “ all, his violent and indeed inexcusable *Injustice*
 “ in the Prosecution of Bishop *Williams*, were
 “ such visible *Blemishes*, that nothing but the
 “ putting him to *Death* in so unjust a Manner,
 “ could have rais'd his Character; which it did
 “ to a Degree of setting him up as a *Pattern*,
 “ and the establishing all his Notions, as *Stan-*
 “ *dards* by which Judgments were to be made of
 “ Men, whether they are true to the *Church* or
 “ not. His *Diary* represents him as an abject
 “ Fawner on the Duke of *Buckingham*, and as a
 “ Superstitious Regarder of *Dreams*. His De-
 “ fence of himself, writ with so much Care when
 “ he was in the *Tower*, is a very mean Perfor-
 “ mance. He intended in that to make an Ap-
 “ peal to the World. In most Particulars he ex-
 “ cuses himself by this, That he was but one of
 “ many, who either in Council, *Star-Chamber*,
 “ or *High-Commission*, voted illegal Things.
 “ Now though this was true, yet a Chief Mini-
 “ ster, and one in high Favour, determines the
 “ rest so much, that they are little better than
 “ Machines acted by him. On the other Occa-
 “ sions he says, the Thing was prov'd but by one
 “ Witness; now how strong soever this Defence
 “ may be in Law, it is of no Force in an Appeal
 “ to the World. For if a Thing is true, 'tis no
 “ matter how full or defective the Proof is. The
 “ Thing that gave me the strongest Prejudice
 “ against him in that Book is, that after he had
 “ seen the violent Effects of his *Ill Counsels*, and
 “ had been so long shut up, and so long at Lei-

“ sure to reflect on what had past in the Hurry
 “ of Passion in the Exaltation of his Prosperity ;
 “ he does not in any one Part of that great
 “ Work, acknowledge his own Errors, nor mix
 “ in it any wise or pious Reflections on the un-
 “ happy Steps he had made, &c. Which in short
 is, that *being a hot indiscreet Man*, having been
 guilty of much *Injustice and Severity*, and at once
 a *Fawner and Persecutor*, he was himself persecu-
 ted, and dy’d insensible of his Offences. *Such*,
 says Mr. *Echard*, *was his triumphant End.*

Among all his *Encomiums*, nothing more charms
 me than his Panegyrick on *Baker’s Chronicle*; that
Elaborate Work, as he terms it, which has been
 the Contempt of all Judicious Readers these
 Thirty or Forty Years, and as is said in a *Comedy*,
 only lies now with *Dalton*, &c. in the Country
 Justices Window.

When he wrote of Mr. *Chillingworth’s* Death
 and Burial, he pick’d a Passage out of *A. Wood*,
 which I leave to the Faith of the Reader. Dr.
Cheyne, once *Margaret* Professor of *Divinity* in
Oxford, and President of *St. John’s College*, was
 Rector of *Petworth* in *Sussex*, when Mr. *Chilling-*
worth was bury’d there ; and *Echard* tells us, that
 the Doctor throwing *Chillingworth’s* famous Book
 against the Papists into the Grave after the Corpse,
 cry’d out, *Get thee gone thou cursed Book, which*
hast seduced so many precious Souls ; thou corrupt
rotten Book, Earth to Earth, Dust to Dust ; get thee
gone into the Place of Rottenness, that thou mayst
rot with the Author, and see Corruption. He then
 assumes a serious Air, and as if the Fact had been
 true in all its Circumstances, says, *An Usage that*
needs no Reflection or Aggravation. I have often
 wish’d that these Writers would only preserve
Probability, but they run Riot alike against the
True and the Probable. It happens *A. Wood*, speak-
 ing

ing of Mr. *Chillingworth*, who was so zealous for the Cause as to quit his *Vocation*, and act the Engineer in *Gloucester* and *Arundel Castle*, tells us, that being taken Prisoner in the latter by Sir *William Waller*, this very Doctor *Cbeynel* was the Man who interceded with Sir *William* for *Chillingworth's* Liberty; in which Intercession he so far prevail'd, as to procure him a commodious Confinement in the Episcopal Palace at *Chichester*, where he was civilly us'd to his Death by the same Dr. *Cbeynel*.

We are now come to the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, and in the first Place find Dr. *Stuart*, with his Fellow Doctors, asserting the Divine Right of Episcopacy, having been accounted an Institution of Christ by the most Learned of all Ages: Boldly asserted this, and as boldly repeated. The most learned Lawyer in the last, and the most learned Lawyer in this Age, the Great *Selden*, and the Lord Chancellor ——— have said the quite contrary, besides 100 more Writers on the same Subject. *Selden* publish'd a Book in Greek and Latin, by the Name of *Eutychius*, with Notes upon it to prove, That Bishops did not otherwise differ from the rest of the Presbyters, than doth a Master of a College from the Fellows, and that by Consequence they differ'd only in Degree, not Order. As to the other great Lawyer, let him procure an Answer to that unanswerable Treatise, entituled, *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church*. What would these Men have! Is it not enough that the Laws of our Country establish the *Hierarchy*, and the People readily obey them? Did it consist with the Day, that *Palls*, *Spiritual Courts*, *Cathedrals*, *Honours* and *Revenues*, should be instituted by Christ himself? If as *Binius* says in 1 *Cor. Apostol.* the Names of Bishop and Presbyter were promiscu-

ously us'd for 200 Years after Christ ; Why do not they distinguish between the Divine Right proceeding from the real Gift of the Holy Ghost, in the Exercise of the Ministerial Function, whether *Bishop* or *Presbyter*, which is entirely Spiritual ; and the Right which the *Law* gives with respect to *Temporals* ?

The Pride of these Men is such, that under Pretence of holding their Rights immediately from God, they would throw off Dependency on the State, and be their own and our Governors. As to the *Ministerial* Function of a Bishop, it was never yet disputed by a reasonable Creature ; but they will needs confound *Temporals* and *Spirituals*, and make the one as much *Jure Divino* as the other. Why was not the *Historian* so fair as to insert a Speech made by the Marquis of Hertford, one of the King's Commissioners at *Uxbridge* Treaty, after Dr. Stuart and the other Doctors had been heard ; as also the opponent Ministers.

My LORDS,

Here is much said concerning Church Government in the General : The Reverend Doctors on the King's Part affirm, that Episcopacy is *Jure Divino* ; the Reverend Ministers on the other Part do affirm, that Presbytery is *Jure Divino* ; for my Part, I think that neither the one nor the other, nor any Government whatsoever, is *Jure Divino* ; and I desire we may leave this Argument.

How much the Royal Cause was oblig'd to *Montrose*, by that Lord's breaking off the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, will appear in Dr. *Welwood's* Memoirs. His Rashness and Bravado's so animated the King, that he would not grant the Concessions which were necessary for Peace.

Officers

Officers of the Parliament Army.

Horse.

Colonel Middleton,
 Algernoon Sydney, Esq;
 Colonel Greaves,
 Colonel Sheffield,
 Colonel Vermuden,
 Colonel Whalley,
 Sir Michael Livesay,
 Colonel Fleetwood,
 Colonel Rossiter,
 Sir Robert Pye,

> Colonels.

Foot.

Colonel Crayford,
 Colonel Berkley,
 Colonel Aldridge,
 Colonel Holburn,
 Colonel Fortescue,
 Colonel Montague,
 Colonel Pickering,
 Colonel Wellden,
 Colonel Rainsborough,

> Colonels.

Who, says Echard, had not *all together* 1000 Pounds a Year in Land. It will not bear Reflection nor Aggravation. He adds, the Officers of this Army were mean Tradesmen;

*Tailors,
 Brewers,*

*Goldsmiths,
 Shoemakers,*

Some such there were; and since they did their Business so well, that mean Remark might have been omitted, had himself been a Person of Quality.

lity. Does any Man value the Memory of that Gallant Officer, *Lieutenant-General Wood*, the less, for his having been a *Linnen-Draper*? Or did any one upbraid the *German General Souche*, with his having been a *Drummer's Boy*, when he held the *Imperial Battoon*? I could name many a brave Officer in the late Duke of *Marlborough's* Victorious Army, who pass'd his first Years in a *Shop*, or a *Counting-House*.

Much Debate has been about the Book ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, and our Historian writes, that tho' it is not mention'd by the Earl of *Clarendon*, 'tis incontestably prov'd to be the King's by a Cloud of Witnesses. What a Forehead must a Man have to say it is incontestably prov'd, after so much had been said to the contrary, even by Dr. *Walker*, who carry'd the Manuscript to the Printer, at the Desire of Dr. *Gauden*, who wrote it? Did not *Walker* and the Earl of *Anglesey* not only contest, but put it out of all Doubt, that King *Charles* was not the Author? which I never suppos'd he was before I had read a Word about it, and look'd upon the Dispute it self to be a Jest. There's so much undisguis'd Art in the Design, so much Singularity in the Stile, and both agree so little with that Prince's Sentiments and Language in all his Speeches, that I made no Question but 'twas writ to have the Effect Bishop *Burnet* says it had: *The Piety of the Prayers made all People cry out against the Murder of a Prince, who thought so seriously of all his Affairs, in his Meditations before God*: But even the most pious of those Prayers, stil'd, *A Prayer in Time of Captivity*, is taken almost Word for Word from the Prayer of *Pamela* to a Pagan Deity, in *Pembroke's Arcadia*, a Romance, Edit. 1674, p. 248. A few Lines after, that Right Reverend Father proceeds thus:

“ In the Year 1673, in which I had a great
“ share of Favour and free Conversation with the
“ then Duke of York, afterwards King James the
“ Second, as he suffer’d me to talk very freely
“ to him about Matters of Religion, and as I
“ was urging him with somewhat out of his Fa-
“ ther’s Book, he told me that Book *was not of his*
“ *Father’s Writing*. What rare Evidence must
the Historian’s Cloud of Witnesses be? Again.

“ That the Letter to the Prince of Wales was
“ never brought to him: He said Dr. Gauden
“ writ it. After the Restoration, he brought the
“ Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Southampton
“ both to the King and to himself, who affirm’d
“ that they knew it was his Writing: And that
“ it was carry’d down by the Earl of Southamp-
“ ton, and shew’d the King, during the Treaty
“ of Newport, who read it, and approv’d of it,
“ as containing his Sense of Things. Upon this
“ he told me, that though Sheldon and the other
“ Bishops oppos’d Gauden’s Promotion because
“ he had taken the Covenant, yet the Merits of
“ that Service carry’d it for him. There has been
“ a great deal of Disputing about this Book; some
“ are so zealous for maintaining it to be the King’s,
“ that they think a Man false to the Church that
“ doubts it to be his.

The Two important Negotiations with the Ve-
netians and Turks for the Service of King Charles
against the Parliament, being no where else to
be met with, will recommend themselves to the
Reader, especially that very wise and honourable
Proposal of the King’s Ambassador to the Turk,
That since the Parliament had got Possession of the
King’s Revenues, after they had been forc’d upon
a long expensive War in Defense of their Liber-
ties and Properties, he wou’d give License to the
said

said Ambassador to seize the Effects of the English Merchants in Turkey, who were far enough off both King and Parliament, and cou'd not concern themselves in the Quarrel. I wou'd not have told this Story had I been the Author, nor wou'd I have gone on such an Errand had I been the Ambassador; who indeed paid too dearly for his Folly, and had his Head cut off on Tower-Hill.

Mr. Archdeacon *Echard* highly commends King *Charles* for not suffering Mr. *Marshal* and Mr. *Caryl*, two Puritan Divines, to say Grace for him at *Holndenby*. An excellent Temper, not to permit two Protestant Ministers to pray for him! That too shou'd not have been told; and such Slips as these shew us what a miserable Thing Zeal is without Discretion.

Of Mr. *Marshal* he says elsewhere, he was a Country Parson in *Essex*. Wou'd he not be very angry, if I shou'd say of himself, he's a Country Parson in *Lincolnshire*. He might have improv'd the Matter much by repeating *A. Wood's* own Words, which afford us a Taste of the Spirit and Elegance of such bigotted Academicks.

" 'Tis said, *Marshal* on a time put himself more
 " forward than was meet to say Grace, and while
 " he was long in forming his Chaps, as the man-
 " ner was among the *Saints*, and making ugly
 " Faces, his Majesty said Grace himself, and was
 " fallen to his Meat, and had eaten some Part of
 " his Dinner before *Marshal* had ended the Bless-
 " ing: But *Caryl* was not so impudent.

What a Happiness it is that these Writers have had the Benefit of *Longinus's* excellent Rules for the Sublime: Tho' Mr. *Echard* has in a great measure robb'd the *Parliamentarians* of their *Saintships*, and with an incredible Partiality made the
 King's

King's the *sober Party*, yet that is an Innovation in History: The King's Men never pretended to it, and you see *A. Wood* banters the Parliament's for having more Religion than became them.

To speak seriously, 'twas an Observation during the whole Course of the War, as *Whitlock* tells us, that the *Word* in the Parliament's Army was always *Religious*, and in the King's always *Prophane*. But of late Years the *Laudeans*, without either Piety or Hypocrisy have set up for the *godly Party*, and are now carrying on a *successful War* against *Socinians*, *Arians*, and other ignorant illiterate Scepticks.

In the Year 1647, our Historian complains that the Times were *dismal Dark*, made up all of *Black Mondays*, and *Infamous*; and I do not expect they will brighten with him, till the *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of Church Worship, and the Prerogatives and the Revenues of the Dignitaries are restor'd.

The next Year, If it had not been for something, the Earl of *Norwich* with the *Kentish* and *Essex* Rabble wou'd have totally routed the Parliament's Veteran and Victorious Army.

I abhor the Murder of the King as much as Religion and Duty oblige me to do it, and have not a Word to insinuate in Excuse of the Murderers: But what happen'd upon it, as told by our Author, rather provokes Raillery than moves Compassion. Upon the Rumour of it throughout the Kingdom, Women miscarry'd, many of both Sexes fell into *Palpitations*, *Swoonings* and *Melancholy*, and some fell down dead.

He had here a fair Opportunity of showing his Impartiality, by mentioning the *Protestation* of the *Presbyterian* Ministers against the King's Tryal and Death. They drew up an Address to the Lord General, declaring their *Abhorrence* of all
Vio.

Violence against the Person of the King. This was signed by *Sixty* of their Clergy about *London*, whose Names are in *Calamy's Baxter's Life*, p. 61. and I mention it to shew the *Malice* and *Ignorance* of some Ecclesiasticks, who on certain *Anniversaries*, and at other Times, never fail of charging the *Presbyterians* with the *Murder* of the King, though they were the only Men in *England* that appear'd publickly against it.

Bishop *Juxon*, who had been Lord Treasurer, was pitch'd upon by King *Charles I.* to assist him with his pious Offices at the Time of his Death; and tho' what the Historian says of the Conferences between the King and the Bishop is very poor and unedifying, the Bishop's Part at least; yet he introduces him often as performing to Perfection on so melancholy an Occasion: Whereas Bishop *Burnet* informs us that *Juxon did the Duty of his Function with a dry Coldness, which cou'd not raise the King's Thoughts.* Let us see that Learned Prelate's Account of King *Charles's* Death and Character.

“ He dy'd greater than he liv'd, and shew'd
 “ that which has been said of the whole Race of
 “ the *Stuarts*, that they bear Misfortune better
 “ than Prosperity. His Reign both in Peace and
 “ War was a continual Series of Errors, so that
 “ it does not appear that he had a true Judg-
 “ ment of Things. He was out of Measure set
 “ on following his Humour, but unreasonably com-
 “ plying to those whom he trusted, chiefly the
 “ Queen. He had too high a Notion of the
 “ Regal Power, and thought that every Opposi-
 “ tion to it was Rebellion. He minded little
 “ Things too much, and was more concern'd in
 “ the drawing of a Paper, than in fighting a Bat-
 “ tel. He was too much inclin'd to the middle
 “ Way between *Protestant* and *Papist.* He en-
 “ gag'd

“gag’d the Duke of *Roban* in the War of *Rob-*
 “*chel*, and then forsook him. He was the Oc-
 “casion of the Loss of the Liberty of the *Spa-*
 “*nish Netherlands*, &c.

There’s a Room in the *Tower*, where the Gal-
 lant Lord *Capel* was confin’d, and where he took
 leave of his Son, the unfortunate Earl of *Essex*,
 with a Charge that he shou’d adhere to the *same*
Cause for which he was going to be beheaded.
This he promis’d, says *Echard*, and afterwards put
 an End to his own Life in a narrow Closet of that
 Room, as if the Sight of it had thrown him into a
 Fit of unconquerable Despair. Bishop *Morley* he
 assures us made this reasonable Remark: And I
 repeat it to do Honour as far as I can to Bishop
Morley and Archdeacon *Echard*.

I am extremely pleas’d with the Archdeacon’s
 Gallantry in the Character of Mrs. *Barlow*, be-
 cause she was the Duke of *Monmouth*’s Mother,
 and had no Fault but Whoring, or in his own
 Words, *She had no other Crime but her yielding to*
the Charms of the Young Prince. Expressions that
 have nothing at all of the *Director* in them.

Our Historian and his Originals have not Words
 to form the Character of the mighty Marquis of
Montrose in *Scotland*, whose History I shall abridge
 out of Mr. *Echard*’s.

His taking the Covenant made the Bishops a-
 fraid of him. He went with Mr. *Henderson* and
 Two Ministers more to *Aberdeen*, and promoted
 the Covenant there, disputing with Doctors. He
 led the Van of the *Scots Army*, alighted off his
 Horse and forded the *Tweed afoot*. He inform’d
 the King, that Duke *Hamilton* was false to him,
 and frankly offer’d to murder him and the Earl of
Argyle. He went to the Queen in *Torkshire*, and
 begg’d her to get a Commission from the King
 for him; but she dismiss’d him. Being sounded
 by

by the *Covenanters* about it, he *subtly* gave them Hopes that he wou'd side with them, and afterwards made remarkable Opposition to them, prevailing in so many Attempts, and performing so many *stupendous* Acts, that they are the Subject of a distinct History: He sent a fatal Letter to King *Charles*, boasting he would bring an Army into *England*, if the King wou'd break off the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. His clear Spirit was most like to advance the King's Service, and his Dependants assassinated the Parliament's Minister in *Holland*. He is routed, and flies the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Lands again, is again routed, taken, hang'd and quarter'd.

Here's the naked History stripp'd of all Ornaments, as Mr. *Echard* tells it himself; and when it is ornamented by him, the Marquis is made a mere *Almanzor*, if not a *Drawcansir*. He argues on both Sides; but indeed cou'd dye but on one Side, and that Side must therefore have the best Claim to him. After all, Bishop *Burnet* says *his Successes were very mischievous*.

I cou'd make my self merry enough with the Turn he gives to the Choice of sober, religious Officers in the *Scots* Army, which was rais'd for King *Charles* the Second; but for a Man whose *Vocation* was of the Holy Ghost, to ridicule the most *Sacred Things*, wou'd have been astonishing, had I not known his Party and Principle. *They put in Command Ministers Sons, Clerks, and other such sanctify'd Persons, who hardly ever saw any Sword but that of the Spirit.*

Cromwel's running away in his Drawers near *Musselborough*, was a very pleasant Sight, and true or not true will bear telling.

One's

One's Blood shudders when we read of Murder, especially when any Thing is said to justify it. Mr. *Ascham* whom the Parliament sent to *Madrid* as their *Envoy*, was a Gentleman of great Parts and Learning. He had been Tutor to the Duke of *York*, and was Author of several ingenious Treatises, particularly one entituled, *A Discourse, wherein is examin'd what is particularly lawful during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government*. This Gentleman had not been long in *Spain* before he was assassinated by six *Russians*. *Henry Progers*, one of them, was then a Servant to Sir *Edward Hyde*, Minister there for King *Charles*. These Assassins not only murder'd the *English* Envoy, but his Interpreter also *John Bap. Riva*. Mr. *Echard* treading on this slippery Ground as tenderly as possible, says, *Don Lewis de Haro*, Prime Minister of *Spain*, cry'd out, *I envy those Gentlemen for having done so noble an Action, however penal it may prove to them, to revenge the Blood of their King upon a Spanish Friar who knew nothing of the Matter*.

'Tis not to be believ'd that *Don Lewis* said a word of it; tho' if he had, it would not have justify'd the Historian's repeating it in Applause of Two such barbarous Murders: Neither does he tell the Fact as it happen'd.

A. Wood's Account.

Mr. Echard's Account.

“ These Six <i>Royalists</i> repair'd to <i>Ascham's</i> Lodging. Two of them stood at the Bottom of the Stairs, Two at the Top, and Two enter'd his Chamber.	“ Next Morning some <i>English</i> Officers and Soldiers who had serv'd in the <i>Spanish</i> Armies, went to his Lodging, and without asking any Questions
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*A. Wood's Account.**Mr. Echard's Account.*

" Chamber; of whom " stions walk'd up di-
 " *Spark* being first, " rectly into his Cham-
 " drew up to the Ta- " ber, drew their
 " ble where *Ascham* " Swords, and *besides*
 " and another were fit- " *their Intentions*, in
 " ting, and pulling off " *Disorder* kill'd a Fri-
 " his Hat, said, Gen- " ar, the Interpreter,
 " *tlemen, I kiss your* " as well as the Agent,
 " *Hands; pray which is* " and so return'd to
 " *the Resident?* Where- " their Companions
 " upon the Resident ri- " with naked and bloo-
 " sing up, *Guillim* took " dy Swords, and some
 " him by the Hair of " Expressions of Tri-
 " the Head, and with " umph, as if they had
 " a naked Dagger gave " perform'd a gallant
 " him a Thrust that o- " Action, and justifiable
 " verthrew him. Then " Piece of Service.
 " came in *Spark*, and
 " gave him another.
 " And because they
 " wou'd make sure of
 " their Work, they
 " gave him Five Stabs,
 " of which he instantly
 " dy'd. Whereupon
 " *John Bap. Riva* his
 " Interpreter thinking
 " to retire to his Cham-
 " ber, Four others that
 " were without the
 " Chamber gave him
 " Four Wounds, of
 " which he dy'd on the
 " Spot.

If he did not think it a gallant and justifiable Action, why did he not enter his Protest against it? Why does he tell us it was not the Murderers Intention to kill the Interpreter, who was running away from them?

They did not know *John Bapt. Riva* would be the Man, but they intended to kill any body that was with him, or they might have let *Riva* pass. Why does he say they committed the Murder with Swords, when they stabb'd him with Daggers? I cannot dwell on so dreadful a Subject: I cou'd as well look upon the Murther, as write it as he has done, without trembling.

Is there the least Probability that an *English* Lawyer should plead thus in a Case of Life: *The Court is not to take Notice of the Prisoner's Law Cases, but of his Confession; and though he has acted no Treason, yet he has an Affection for Treason, and therefore deserves Death.* He puts these words into the Mouth of the Attorney-General *Prideaux*.

The Story *Nalson* help'd him to, of a *Providential* Vengeance, is in p. 689, and relates to Love the *Presbyterian* Minister, who lost his Head for a Plot against the Parliament. I recommend every Thing pick'd out of *Nalson* to the Reader; for though he's too dull to be read by himself, yet when he's set off by Mr. *Echard's* Improvements and Graces, he is another Sort of a Man, and one may away with him the better.

Enough has been said of the *Devil* and *Cromwell*, and of *Oliver's* selling his Soul to Satan for the Battel of *Worcester*. Tho' *Echard* has told this as gravely as any Thing, yet he owns *Cromwell's* Army was Three Times as numerous as King *Charles* the Second's, besides their being mostly *Veterans*, against raw and undisciplin'd Men,

Q

'twas

'twasa sad Bargain therefore to damn himself for a Victory, when he had three to one of his Side.

After this Battel he carries us along with King Charles and Mrs. Jane Lane into the *West*; but assures us, Mrs. Lane behav'd her self not only with the utmost *Fidelity and Tenderness*, but also with *admirable Prudence and Discretion*. In this Ramble there's one Thing very remarkable, especially to such as ever saw King Charles the Second or his Picture. For Mr. Richard informs you, that the Soldiers at Sir Hugh Windham's seiz'd upon a lovely young Lady for the King in Disguise. Though in his Description of him he says, *His Countenance was rather grave than severe, his Complexion somewhat dark, and the Majesty of his Looks happily supply'd the Lines of Beauty*.

The Reader cannot but be entertain'd with his Raillery upon going to Prayers, &c. p. 705. It is a little insipid indeed, and consists rather of Grimace than Wit. What there is either of Wit or Grimace, is imply'd in the Terms only, such as *seeking God, Gift of Prayer, Presence of Christ, real Godliness, Christian Purity*, and the like, with which he makes himself as merry as if they were fit Matter for a Farce.

What is said of the Dutch, p. 706, is too prophane, and had better be pass'd over; such as the *Coming of Christ, Kiss of the Son, Holy ones*; Terms so very far from being risible, that I question whether a Lay Author could have made use of them without at least an Air of Seriousness.

When one Wagstaffe and other Desperado's had seiz'd the Judges and High-Sheriff of Wilts at Salisbury, Wagstaffe was for hanging them up immediately; but Penruddock was against it, and for keeping them to make Terms. As if, says our Historian, *Works of this Nature could be done by*

Halves. In this Incident and that of Mr. *Ascham*, one has sufficient Insight into the Spirit of the Author.

Speaking of the Death of Mr. *Marshall* the Minister, whom he had before call'd a *Country Parson*; he now gives you his various Characters, and makes him at once an Independent, a Preacher, an Author, an Incendiary, a Trumpet, a Confessor, a Counsellor, a Chaplain, a Champion, a *Shimei*, a Madman and a Mortal: All in a Line or Two.

Oliver's caressing and promoting *Romish* Priests, for which we have his Word, is more a Piece of *Secret History*, than any the *foolish* Authors of such History have supply'd him with: Tho' not so much as what follows.

" *Cromwell* wore Armour underneath his Cloaths,
" besides offensive Weapons, as a *Sword*, a *Fal-*
" *shion*, several Pistols. He kept several *Keys*
" for the Doors of his Chambers, and rarely slept
" above Two Nights together in the same
" Room, nor in any that had not Two or Three
" Back-doors well guarded by his Servants. He
" never went abroad but with strong Guards,
" and with his Coach full throng'd with well-
" arm'd Servants: It was never known which way
" he was to go, till he was in his Coach.

The next Curiosity in his History is,
An Address from the Independents, Anabaptists,
Quakers, &c. to King Charles the Second in Exile
at Brussels.

The Commonwealth of England is like a poor
Weather-beaten Pinace, which for a long Time
has been toss'd upon the Billows of Faction, splinter
upon the Rock of Violence, and almost devour'd in
the Quicksands of Ambition.

If I had thought the Reader cou'd have believ'd such Stuff was ever sent after King *Charles* into *Flanders*, I would have repeated it all, for there's a great deal of it; and to do Mr. *Echard* Justice, he said he had it from the Lord *Clarendon*.

The filthy Account of *Cromwel's* Coffin is too shocking as well as improbable: But he trumps up again the Authority of Captain *Lindsey*, whom he made a Colonel for his good Service in detecting *Oliver's* Correspondence with the *Devil*. He informs us, *Cromwell* dy'd on the Third of *September*, as it was stipulated between himself and Satan, according to the Prediction of Colonel *Lindsey*.

I have heard it said of *Oliver's* Character in his History, that it is more false and vicious than even *Cromwel* himself. I have said already, and do say again, that I have an Abhorrence for that Usurper's Treachery, Tyranny, and other Vices, and do not think his great Qualities counterbalance them. But I wou'd scorn to conceal or misrepresent the Truth as he has done in the most wild, perplex'd, and malicious Manner. Bishop *Burnet* hated the Memory of *Cromwel* as much as it deserves Hate; yet in Justice to Truth he speaks of him thus: He study'd to seek out able and honest Men, and to employ them; and his Gentleness had in a great measure quieted People's Minds with relation to him. *Echard* says, He rul'd by Councils of Rapine, Courts of Murder, the very contrary to Gentleness and Honesty. The Bishop adds, His maintaining the Honour of the Nation in all foreign Countries, gratify'd the Vanity which is very natural to Englishmen. He said, he hop'd he should make the Name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.

When

When the *Historian* draws near the *Restoration*, he re-assumes his Character of a *Panegyrist*, and begins with *Monk*.

He had upbraided *Oliver* with the Meanness of his Birth, though his Uncle *Sir Oliver Cromwel* was Son of another *Sir Oliver*, a Gentleman of a very great Estate, who entertain'd King *James* and all his Court, when that King was in his Journey to *London*, to take Possession of the Crown. The Family originally *Welsh*, and of the Name of *Williams*, took that of *Cromwel* upon *Sir Richard Williams's* marrying a Daughter of the famous Earl of *Essex*, being before one of the most ancient in *Wales*, where 'tis no uncommon Thing to derive a Pedigree from *Brute*, as was done for *Oliver* by a *Welsh* Genealogist, tho' he only made a Jest of it.

From that Genealogist I come to another, Our *Historian*, who derives *Monk's* Pedigree from the Royal House of *Plantagenet*, which Honour descended to Duke *Christopher*, *Monk's* Son by Mrs. *Clarges*, a Sempstress; unless the Evidence in the Case of *Bath* and *Montague* was true. Mrs. *Clarges* was Sister to Mr. *Thomas Clarges*, an Apothecary, to whom for the Reputation of the Cause Mr. *Echard* has granted the Degree of *Doctor of Physick*.

After having severely rally'd General *Fleetwood* for saying his Prayers so often, and that without the Help of a Book, he assures us, the General being advis'd to shew more Courage, reply'd, *God had spit in his Face*, which as 'tis more than probable he never said, so one cannot repeat it but with Horror and Indignation. Of what Make must some Mens Consciences be, to ridicule the most holy and tremendous Ideas the Mind of Man is capable of, and have recourse to Fable, rather than not gratify their paltry Resentments? For if

Oliver had restor'd the *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of *Worship*, the *Honours*, *Power* and *Revenues* of the *Ecclesiasticks*, with what *Glory* wou'd he have shin'd in their *Histories*, considering the dazzling *Brightness* of one *Side* of his *Character*? The *Duke of York* having betroth'd himself to *Sir Edward Hyde's* Daughter abroad, the *Historian* vouches that *Chancellor Hyde* never heard a *Hint* of it till the *Thing* was done.

He also informs us, that the *Rabble* burnt *Rumps* to magnify *General Monk*, who was never more magnify'd by any thing in his *Life*, except it was when *Sir Richard Willis* and *Colonel Doleman* wou'd have made a *King* of him. I say nothing but what the *Historian* said before, as descended from a *Bastard Son* of *Edward IV.* Indeed I must confess this *Title* was a much better one than that of *Merit* would have been, the *Restoration* only excepted. In the *Process* of which he met with so few *Difficulties*, had so many *Helps*, and such good *Luck*, that a less *Genius* cou'd not have miscarry'd. The *Anarchy* and *Confusion* since *Oliver's* Death, had made the *People* weary of new *Experiments*, and heartily willing to try once more the old *Constitution*, the best in the *World*, as on the present *Establishment*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Reign of King Charles II.

FOR Six or Eight Pages before Mr. Echard comes to the *Restoration*, and for a Hundred or Two afterwards, there is such an Effusion of Epithets, so much Transport and Acclamation, that we know not where we are. He whirls about in a continual Vortex, which must needs make a Man's Head giddy. 'Tis a hard Matter to keep one's Wits together, amidst so much Noise and Extasy: He's conscious himself there's a Spice of Frenzy in it, and therefore owns that every Man's Head was seiz'd with some Degree of Rapture and Madness.

A. D.
1600.
King
Charles
II.

What Reason they had to run away from their Senses, will be seen in the *History* of this Reign, which I shall borrow from the *Short History of a Standing Army*, as I have done the Two former Reigns, and for a further Account refer the Reader to the Bishop of *Sarum's* Character of King Charles the Second; which is so full of Proof against almost every Word of Echard's Panegyrick, that I cannot help bearing a Part in the Confusion and Shame which must attend it.

“ By this Means came in Charles the Second,
“ a Luxurious, Effeminate Prince, a deep Dis-
“ sembler, and if not a *Papist* himself, yet a great
“ Favourer of them; but the People had suffer'd
“ so much from the Army, that they were over-
“ joy'd at his Coming. The Parliament in the
“ Honey Moon pass'd what Acts he pleas'd, gave
“ a vast Revenue for Life, being Three Times
“ as much as any of his Predecessors enjoy'd, and

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“ several Millions besides to be spent in his Plea-
 “ sures. This made him conceive vaster Hopes of
 “ Arbitrary Power than any that went before him ;
 “ and in order to it, he *debauch’d* and enervated
 “ the whole Kingdom. His Court was a Scene of
 “ *Adultery, Drunkenness, and Irreligion*, appearing
 “ more like *Stews*, or the *Feasts of Bacchus*, than
 “ the Family of a Chief Magistrate ; and in a
 “ little Time the Contagion spread through the
 “ whole Nation ; so that it was out of the Fashion
 “ not to be lewd, and scandalous not to be a pub-
 “ lick Enemy, which has been the Occasion of all
 “ the Miseries that have since happen’d.

No Matter for all this, Mr. *Echard* continues
 in so strange a Fit of *Extasy*, that he can scarce
 contain himself ; and the Reason is very plain
 from his own Words ; *At the same Time the King*
took no less Care of the Benefit and Revenues of the
Church, and, what seem’d a little superfluous,
wrote Letters to all Bishops, Deans, and Chapters,
not to part with their Revenues, &c. So that the
Establish’d Church easily recover’d its former Autho-
rity, and began to shine with its usual Splendor. A
 Christian Church, a Primitive Church, a Pure
 Church, a Poor Church, a Suffering Church, and
 a Church Triumphant I have heard of ; but a *Shi-*
ning Church, a Splendid Church, a Powerful
Church, a Pompous Church, a Magnificent Church,
 owe their Existence to the Love of Epithets and
 Show.

By what Bishop *Burnet* writes when he speaks
 of King *Charles’s* Extatick Reception, and what
 Mr. *Echard*, the Reader will distinguish between
 Candor and Insincerity in writing : For *Echard*
 speaks not a Word of the dreadful Consequences
 of this *Rapture and Joy*. *With the Restoration of*
the King, says the Bishop, a Spirit of extrava-
gant

giant Joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very Profession of Virtue and Piety. All ended in Entertainments and Drunkenness, which overrun the Three Kingdoms to a Degree that very much corrupted all their Morals.

To proceed with the History of this Reign, as I find it in the *Short History* before-mentioned.

“ King Charles the Second was no sooner warm
“ on his Seat, but he rejected an advantageous
“ Treaty of Commerce, which *Oliver* made with
“ *France*, as done by an *Usurper*; suffer’d the
“ *French* to lay Impositions upon all our Goods,
“ which amounted to a Prohibition, insomuch
“ that they got a Million a Year from us in the
“ Over-balance of Trade: He sold the important,
“ Fortress of *Dunkirk*; let the *French* seize St.
“ *Christophers*, and the other Places in *America*.

Mr. *Echard* at this very Time extols his Majesty’s Counsels for being regular and steady, and carry’d on with *Wisdom* and *Forecast*. “ He began, continues my *Short History*, a foolish and
“ unjust War with the *Dutch*, and though the
“ Parliament gave him vast Sums to maintain it,
“ yet he spent so much upon his Vices, that they
“ got great Advantages of us, and burnt out
“ Fleet at *Chatham*: At last he made as dishonourable a
“ Peace with them as he had done a War;
“ a perpetual Reproach to our Country, that
“ our Reputation at Sea should be sunk to so low
“ an Ebb, as to be baffled by that Nation, who
“ but a few Years before had sent a Blank Paper
“ to the Parliament, to prescribe to them what
“ Laws they pleas’d.

“ During this War the City of *London* was fir’d,
“ not without violent Suspicion, that the Fire-
“ balls were prepar’d at *Whitehall*. Soon after
“ this

" this he enter'd into the *Tripple-Alliance*, and
 " receiv'd a great Sum from the Parliament to
 " maintain it, which he made Use of to break
 " the same League; sent Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden*
 " to dissolve it, and enter'd into a strict *Alliance*
 " with *France*, which was seal'd with his Sister's
 " Blood. In Conjunction with them, he made a
 " new War upon *Holland* to extirpate *Liberty*,
 " and the Protestant Religion: But knowing the
 " Parliament was averse to the War, and would
 " not support him in it, he attempted before any
 " War declar'd, to seize their *Smyrna* Fleet. He
 " shut up the *Exchequer*, and became so mean, as
 " to be a Pensioner to *France*, from whence his
 " Predecessors, with Swords in their Hands, had
 " so often expected Tribute. He not only suf-
 " fer'd, but assisted them to arrive at that Pitch
 " of Greatness, which all *Europe* hath sufficiently
 " felt and lamented. He sent over Ten Thou-
 " sand Men to assist in subduing *Flanders* and
 " *Germany*, by whose Help they did several con-
 " siderable Actions. He sent them *Timber*, *Sea-*
 " *men*, *Ship-Carpenters*, contrary to the Policy of
 " Nations, which rais'd their Naval Force to a
 " Degree almost equal to our own; and for their
 " Exercise he suffer'd them to take Multitudes of
 " *English* Ships by their *Privateers*, without so
 " much as demanding Satisfaction.

" During this War he issu'd out a *Declaration*
 " suspending the *Penal* Laws, which appears to
 " be design'd in favour of *Papists*, by directing a
 " Bill afterwards to be stoln away out of the
 " House of Lords, for indulging *Protestant Dis-*
 " *senters*, whom he persecuted violently most of
 " his Reign, while he both countenanc'd and
 " preferr'd *Papists*. He broke the Act of Set-
 " tlement in *Ireland*, restor'd them to their E-
 " states, issu'd forth a Proclamation, giving them

Li-

“ Liberty to inhabit in Corporations, and mar-
 “ ry’d the Duke of York not only to a *Papist*,
 “ but one in the *French* Interest, notwithstand-
 “ ing the repeated Addresses of the Parliament;
 “ to the contrary. No Man could be preferr’d
 “ to any Employment in *Church or State*, till he
 “ had declar’d himself an open Enemy to our
 “ *Constitution*, by asserting *Despotick Power*, un-
 “ der that *Nonsensical Phrase of Passive Obedience*,
 “ which was more preach’d up than all the Laws
 “ of God and Men. The Hellish *Papish Plot* was
 “ stifled, prov’d since too true by fatal Experi-
 “ ence; and in the room of it *Protestant* ones
 “ were forg’d, and Men trepann’d into others,
 “ as the *Meal-Tub, Fitzbarris, Ryehouse, New-*
 “ *Market and Black-Heath Plots*; and by these
 “ Pretences, and the Help of pack’d *Juries* and
 “ *Judges*, they butcher’d some of the best Men
 “ in *England*, set immoderate *Fines* upon others,
 “ gave probable Suspicion of cutting the Lord
 “ *Blessen’s Throat*; and to finish our Destruction,
 “ they took away the Charters as fast as they were
 “ able, of all the *Corporations* in *England*. To-
 “ ward the latter End of this Reign, the Nation
 “ had so entirely lost all Sense of *Liberty*, that
 “ they grew fond of their Chains; and if his Bro-
 “ ther would have suffer’d him to live longer, or
 “ had follow’d his Example, by this Time we
 “ had been as great *Slaves* as in *France*.

We shall see by the *History of the Times*, whe-
 ther this Account of King *Charles the Second* is
 too much exaggerated or not. Sure I am we can
 know very little of that Prince or his History by
 Mr. *Echard’s*. His *Musick* is made up all of Flou-
 rishes, or rather his *Discs* are all *Garnish*. The
 Standing one, amidst so much Vice and Pro-
 phaneness, is the *Authorities and Glitterings* of
 the *Church*, and the Eulogies he bestows on those
 who

who promote them, whether the King or his Ministers.

'Tis surprizing to see with what Delight the *Historian* wades through a Sea of Blood flowing from the Executions in the Beginning of this Reign. He opens the Scene with darting the Bolts of Divine Vengeance at those that suffer'd, and flashing the fiery Judgments of Heaven in their Faces.

That they deserv'd Death for the Murder of the King, no body doubts; but since some of them acted by misguided Consciences, and some by weak Understandings, *Christianity* justifies a moderate Compassion for them in their Sufferings. Instead of which, he treats them with perpetual Insults, even when the Hangman was mangling their Bodies, and their Blood made a Deluge in our Streets. Bishop *Burnet* has the Sentiments of a Christian Minister on this Occasion. "Though
" the *Regicides* were at that Time odious beyond
" all Expression, and the Tryals and Executions
" of the first that suffer'd, were run to by vast
" Crowds, and all People were pleas'd with the
" Sight; yet the Odiousness of the Crime grew at
" last to be much flatten'd by the frequent *Execu-*
" *tions*; and most of those who suffer'd dying
" with much Firmness and Shew of Piety, justifi-
" fying all they had done, not without a seeming
" Joy for their suffering on that Account, the
" King was advis'd not to proceed farther". This *Firmness*, this *Shew of Piety*, this seeming Joy, is with the *Historian* *Prodigious Behaviour*. There's something *prodigious* almost in every one of them. Sir *Henry Vane* and *Greatrakes* the *Stroaker*, are also *prodigious*, and *prodigious* and *uncommon* the good and bad Qualities of both Friends and Foes. This is what the *Puerile* Judges mistake for the *Florid* and *Sublime* in Stile,

and Men that judge well know to be the Puffy and Affected. It puts me in mind of a foolish Line, the first in the taking Tragedy of the Earl of Essex:

Help me to rail, prodigious-minded Burleigh.

I have much to say of the *Froth* and *Vanity* of his Sentiments and Expressions, but shall leave it for another Opportunity.

Chancellor Hyde, in his Speech to that Parliament, which their Speech-making Speaker Sir Edward Turner, very ingeniously call'd *Parliamentissimum Parliamentum*, tells 'em, The King had been so careful for the Restoration of the Languishing Church of England, that Constantine himself had hardly spent so much of his own Time in private and publick Conferences to that Purpose. Whereas in truth, the King was at that Time an errant Papist. He chang'd his Religion before he left Paris, says Bishop Burnet. The Earl of Clarendon had a great Talent for Speeches, and his are an Ornament to History for their Eloquence. But Sir Edward Turner, though infinitely fond of speaking, is so pedantick, so trifling, so full of Gingle, and other old Fashions, that his Harangues are by no means worthy Remembrance. However, they are a considerable Part of Mr. Echard's Work as long as they last, and increase the Bulk of it wonderfully. If any ill Accidents shou'd happen to prevent its Immortality, Turner's Speeches will certainly be one of them.

The mad Attempt of the Enthusiast Venner met with its Reward; but that does not satisfy our Historian. The Dissenters who disown'd and detested him in it, must by an *Innuendo* be engag'd with him; and therefore he informs us, the King order'd a Proclamation, prohibiting all seditious
and

and unlawful Meetings and Conventicles under Pretence of Religious Worship.

I don't know a Phrase which has been more serviceable to the Ministers of *Persecution* and *Despotick Power*, than that of *under Pretence*; an arbitrary Judgment, which with a Breath damns every Thing that is good, and turns Virtue into Vice. To pray to God, read a Chapter, sing a Psalm, and hear a Sermon, *under Pretence of Religious Worship*. To drink Water, and live on Roots and Herbs, *under Pretence of Temperance*. To fly Temptation, and use Mortification, *under Pretence of Christianity*. To mind one's Business of all Kinds, *under Pretence of Industry*. To avoid Profusion, *under Pretence of Frugality*. This is their Way of arguing. They know very well what the Dissenters go to Meetings for; and because *Venner* and his Crew must have met together to carry on their bad Work, *every Assembly is seditious and unlawful*, to stir up Rebellion *under Pretence of worshipping God*. I am the longer upon this, for that he's extremely delighted with the Edict and the Expression. Take away the Authority and Splendor of the Church; the *Singing Acts*, as he pleasantly calls them, against Dissenters; the King's, the Chancellor's and Speaker's Speeches, his Proclamations, his Lists of Knights of the Garter, Bath Knights and others; his Audiences, Preferments, Entertainments, Diversions, Trials and Executions, and till the *Dutch War*, you have only the *Skeleton* of a History. When he comes to the Murder of *Sir Henry Vane*, he treats the Memory of that noble Person, as if he had been superior to him in Quality, Fortune, Genius and Merit. I call his Death a Murder, though he had the Form of a Tryal, because King *Charles* broke his Word, and rejected the Petition of the Two Houses of Parliament in Behalf of

Sir

Sir Henry, by putting him to Death. His Declaration from Breda, in the Words of the Bishop of Salisbury, being full for an Indemnity to all, except the Regicides. Sir Henry Vane was comprehended in it. Since though he was for changing the Government, and deposing the King, yet he did not approve of the taking off his Head, nor of the Force put on the Parliament; but did for some Time, while these Things were acted, withdraw from the Scene. This was so represented by his Friends, that an Address was made by both Houses on his Behalf, to which the King gave a favourable Answer, &c. What a History is here for a Christian Reader! What a cruel Libel has our Historian publish'd on this honourable Knight, Father to the Lord Bernard! "He was a Criminal, whose Blood seem'd to be demanded by the peculiar Vengeance of Heaven; though this prodigious Man cunningly kept himself from the impious Court that condemn'd the King, it is sufficiently known that none contributed more to the bringing him thither". This is so notoriously false, as well as base and malicious, that the Author deserves no Ceremony. The Bishop says, and it was sufficiently known, that he was against the Force put upon the Parliament. If there had been no Force put on the Parliament, that impious Court cou'd never have been erected; therefore every one that bore a Part in the Violence which outed near a Hundred Members of their Seats in the House, contributed more than Sir Henry Vane to the Death of the King. He goes on wantonly profuse of vain Words and wretched Raillery at his Tryal and Execution, filling up his Character with Pride, Delusion, and Enthusiasm; whereas he was one of the most exalted Genius's of his Time. And my Lord of Sarum assures us, *The great Opinion that* Men

Men bad of his Parts and Capacity, made the Court think it was necessary to put him out of the way: Which I interpret to have him murder'd. For my Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, &c. were put out of the way with the same Form, and the Legislature has since given it the Term of Murder. Echard tells you the Parliament address'd to have him try'd, and they afterwards address'd to have him pardon'd. If that's likely let the Reader judge, and for himself only.

We all know, that the *Religious* of those Times us'd a Set of *pathetick* Terms, which rose from a Spirit unknown to the *Religious* of the Historian's Principles. It is now call'd Cant, and perhaps there was too much Affectation in it: But Men of Sense always spoke like Men of Sense; and it was to prevent the People's hearing Sir Henry Vane, that the Soldiers made a hideous Noise at the Time of his Execution. We find our Author too among the *Drummers*, who were to drum when Sir Henry spoke, and he does not seem at all to be shock'd at it. The Sheriff and the rest were forc'd to drown his *Lectures of Treason and Enthusiasm*, Anglice, *Religion and Liberty, with the Noise of Drums and Trumpets*. See Bishop Burnet's Relation. "When he saw his Death was design'd, he compos'd himself to it with a Resolution that surpriz'd all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some Instances of this were very extraordinary. He was beheaded on *Towerhill*, where a new and very indecent Practice was begun. *Not a Word of this Indecency in the Archdeacon*. It was observ'd, that the dying Speeches of the *Regicides* had left Impressions on the Hearers that were not at all to the Advantage of the Government. To prevent the like, *Drummers* were plac'd under the Scaffold, who as soon as he

“ he began to speak of the Publick, upon a Sign
“ struck up with their Drums. This put him in
“ no Disorder. He desir’d *they might be stopp’d,*
“ *for he understood what was meant by it.* Then
“ he went through his Devotions ; and as he was
“ taking Leave of those about him, he happen’d
“ to say somewhat with relation to the Times,
“ the Drums struck up a Second Time ; so he
“ gave over, and dy’d with *so much Composedness,*
“ that it was generally thought the Government
“ had lost more than it had gain’d by his Death”.
To the contrary of this, *Echard* tells you, *He with
Rage and Indignation tore his Papers in Pieces, and
submitted to the Block in a very discomposed man-
ner.* The Bishop’s Account is, with more than
ordinary *Composedness,* Mr. *Echard*’s, very *discom-
posed.* Though I have had a greater Guard on
my Pen than was necessary, and have seldom spoke
plain in respect to the Historian’s Function ; yet
I have often been oblig’d to charge him with hi-
storical Falshood, as I do here again on this me-
lancholy and moving Occasion, declaring I wou’d
not be guilty of the like, for the highest Digni-
ty he can possibly attain to.

I shall take no notice of his *Savoy* Conference
between the *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* Clergy. I
never doubted but that *Colloquy*, like all the rest,
was intended only to give the one an Opportu-
nity to insult the other, as *Stearne* Archbishop of
Tork insulted *Baxter*. Of which, says Bishop
Burnet, great Complaints were made as an indecent
Return for the Zeal the *Presbyterians* had shewn in
the Restoration. For the Reader must understand,
that it was the *Presbyterians* only who brought in
King *Charles* the Second. That the *Episcopalians*
acted an under Part, and cou’d never have restor’d
him by themselves.

The Act of *Uniformity* with which Mr. *Ecbard* is so transported, did not pass the House of Commons so easily as he represents it. The Bishop informs us, *Many Members did apprehend so severe an Act might have ill Effects, and began to abate of their first Heat. Upon which, Reports were spread and much aggravated, as they were reported to the House of Commons, of the Plots of the Presbyterians in several Counties. Two Ministers in Worcestershire, Mr. Sparry and Mr. Osland, with one Captain Tarrington, were thrown into Goal by Sir John Packington, who, says my Author, stood up and told the House there was a dangerous Presbyterian Plot discover'd in his County. But another Discovery was soon made, that Packington's Plot was a Sham, and so notorious a one, that the Earl of Bristol, a Papist, was asham'd of it, and very instrumental in saving Captain Tarrington and the Two Ministers from a Tryal, and consequently from the Gallows: The Mercy and Justice of this Administration being exactly of a piece. About the same Time a Letter was sent to the Town-Clerk of Oxford, with a List of Names of Men concern'd in a Plot, among whom was one Combes a Barber, who was to head a Party of Scholars. 'Twas intended to have search'd the Town-Clerk, and to have found this Letter about him; but he immediately carry'd it to the Mayor, and put an end to that Plot also. However, as if there had been something at Bottom, the Militia was rais'd, and kept Guard in Oxford for Two Days. Dr. Calamy writes thus of it. In this very Session the Bill of Uniformity pass'd, and the general Cry occasion'd by these Sham Plots, much promoted it. Which will easily be judg'd by any one who will be at the Pains to peruse Tarrington's Narrative.*

mons, Treafury, Fleet and Army: And the Heads of it were,

George Philips, Serjeant in a Company of Foot.

Thomas Tongue, a Brandy-Man.

Francis Stubbs, a Cheesemonger.

James Hind, a Gunner.

John Sellers, a Compass-maker.

Nathanael Gibbs, a Felt-maker.

Under a Council of Six nameless Scoundrels.

One might have been merry with this Plot, had not the Cruelty of the Times turn'd it into a Tragedy. For *Philips*, *Tongue*, *Gibbs*, and *Stubbs*, were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; but being Persons of so much Consideration, Mr. *Echard* says the King was graciously pleas'd to give their Bodies to their Friends, after the Hangman had cut them to Pieces. Which Acts of Grace were not however very common in this Reign.

In short, the Act of *Uniformity* pass'd; and being, to use his own Words, as soon as it was pass'd, the *Law of the Land*, he cannot imagine why King *Charles* should encourage the Dissenters to contend with them by granting an Indulgence, unless it was to promote *Papists*, by indulging them too at the same Time; wherein he is certainly right, and it needed no conjuring.

The next Year 1663, dy'd Archbishop *Juxon*, a most admirable and venerable Man, who in Reward of his Wisdom, Honesty, and all other Excellencies, was advanc'd, as Mr. *Echard* writes; and as Bishop *Burnet*, "*Juxon*, who had assisted the late King in his last Hours, was promoted to *Canterbury* more out of Decency, than that he was then capable to fill that Post; for as he was never a *Great Divine*, so he was now superannuated.

The

The Historian introduces the *Dutch War* with a terrible Charge against their Admiral *De Ruyter*, who *ingloriously began a Piratick War under the sacred Bands of Friendship*. As his whole Account of the Beginning of that War is misrepresented, so it will not bear Animadversion. Read it backwards, and there will be some Truth in it. The Bishop of *Salisbury* has made this fair Representation of it. "The Design of a War with *Holland* was now working. I have been very
 " positively assur'd by Statesmen on both Sides,
 " that the *French* set it on in a very artificial
 " manner. For while they encourag'd us to insist
 " on some *extravagant* Demands, they at the
 " same Time press'd the *Dutch* not to yield to
 " them: And as they put them in Hopes, that
 " if a Rupture should follow, they would assist
 " them according to their Alliance; so they as-
 " sur'd us they would do us no Hurt. There
 " was no visible Cause of War. Read again what
 Echard says above of *De Ruyter*. "A Com-
 " plaint of a Ship or two taken was ready to be
 " satisfy'd: But the House of Commons was so
 " far from examining nicely into the Ground of
 " the War, that without any Difficulty they gave
 " the King Two Millions and a half.

Speaking of the Attempt at *Berghen* in *Norway*, his Lordship says, "This was a Design well
 " laid, that would have been as fatal to the *Dutch*
 " as ignominious to the King of *Denmark*, and
 " was by the impatient *Ravenousness* of the *Eng-*
 " *lish* lost, without Possibility of recovering;
 " and indeed there was not one good Step made
 " after this in the Progress of the War.

Things will appear true or false by the manner of telling them. When Plainness and Simplicity are an Author's Guide, every body is ready to believe him; but when he involves his Facts in a

Cloud of Epithets, the Reader fears 'tis to obscure the Truth ; and when he glares it with Eulogy and Applause, that it is only to dazzle and mislead him.

Mr. *Echard* acknowledges this shameful Disappointment : But then to give a glorious Turn to a groundless inglorious War, he tells you the *English* took a prodigious Number of Prizes, Four *Dutch* Men of War, 1000 Prisoners; that Sir *Jeremy Smith* scour'd the *Streights*; and General *Wrangle* travell'd Thirty Miles to see Sir *Christopher Minns*, who had scour'd the Coasts. He then crowns the Campaign thus: *During the Height of these Triumphs, God was pleas'd to punish the Sins of the Nation, such as Perjury, Lewdness, Persecution, and an unnecessary War, with the publick Calamity of the Plague.*

Observe how he is pleas'd with the Five Mile Act past at *Oxford*, to oppress the Nonconformists still further in the Height of a Pestilence and War. *All that were secret Favourers of Popery, says the Bishop of Salisbury, promoted this Bill. Dr. Earl, then Bishop of Sarum, declared himself much against it, before the mischievous Effects of it were known. But Archdeacon Echard many Years after the Legislature was asham'd of it, and repeal'd the Statute, calls it an Act for Self-Preservation.*

When he comes to the *Fire of London*, he begins with another *New Plot* of some more extraordinary Persons to destroy the *King* and set up themselves, after they had fir'd the City : The chief of them were ;

John Rathbone.

Thomas Evans.

William Sanders.

John Myles.

Henry Tucker.

William Westcot.

Thomas Flint.

John Cole.

Soldiers in the Parliament Army.

The

The Third of *September* is brought into the Evidence to be the Day for their seizing the Government, because on that Day *Oliver* beat the King at *Worcester*; but then it was on that Day *Oliver* dy'd too, which weighs more against it, than for it. A better Reason is given for it by Mr. *Echard*; that 'twas found in *Lilly's Almanack* to be a *Lucky Day*: But the best Reason of all is, that he might turn the Suspicion of *burning* the City off from the *Papists*, and leave it upon the *Presbyterians*; for then, as it has been ever since his *stinging* Acts, the *Dissenters* of all Denominations were call'd *Presbyterians*, on purpose to load them with whatever Crimes any of the others might commit. Bishop *Burnet's* short Reflection on the *Fire*, is, *That which is still a great Secret, is, whether it was casual, or rais'd on a Design*: To this he adds a very strong Presumption from very great Authorities, that it was the wicked Work of the *Papists*. And the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, in his Speech at passing Sentence against the Popish Lord *Stafford*, said, *Who can doubt any longer that London was burnt by Papists?*

In the Ten Letters before-mention'd, Mr. *Echard* is charg'd with the most barefac'd Falshood with respect to the Fire of *London*. *Cou'd be, without a Blush, omit saying a word of the Enquiry made by the House of Commons concerning the Burning the City; or, with a bare Face, give the House of Commons the Lye?* That ingenious Author, who was living when the Fire happen'd, gives so many Evidences of the Fact, that one cannot doubt but our Historian sunk them, for fear they should be believ'd, and reflect on the Duke of *York* and his *Papists*. See the Second Letter; in which is this just Observation of the History-Writer. "If falsifying of Records in private Cases be so penal, as by our Law it is; how much greater

“ ought the Punishment of any Man to be, much
 “ more of a *Divine*, who falsifies History, with
 “ an Intent to misinform and mislead a whole
 “ Nation in all future Ages, and perhaps to their
 “ Ruin at one Time or other, if the Author
 “ gains Credit enough to be heard. And tho’ I
 “ think there is no Danger from this Author, or
 “ his Predecessor Sir Roger L’Estrange; yet such
 “ a Brand of Infamy ought to be laid on them,
 “ as may deter others of greater Reputation,
 “ &c.

Read *Echard’s* Preface to his Last Volume; and mind how he walks upon Stilts! how he swells with the Conceit of his own Merit! and how different his Sentiments of Himself are from those of the Writer of the Ten Letters! If our Historian was not capable of forming a right Judgment of Facts, as by the whole Tenor of his History ’tis plain he was not; it was however his Duty to set forth the Matters truly as they appear’d, and to have left it to wiser Heads to judge of them.

Next to the Story of the Devil and Cromwell, which being the *Nonpareille* of History, we can’t too often repeat; one of the most credible and diverting in Mr. *Echard’s*, is that of Mr. *Valentine Greatarakes*, upon which he dwells. This Man was an *Irish Justice of Peace*, a pious Religious Man, and no Fanatick, but he said it was reveal’d to him, that he could cure the *King’s Evil*; I believe he could cure it as much as *Edward the Confessor*. Not satisfy’d with this Revelation, he had a Second and a Third, the latter of which added the Cure of *Agues*, *Headachs*, *Wounds* and *Ulcers*, to the *King’s Evil*. Nor did this Gift stop here; *Convulsions*, *Dropsies*, and several other Distempers follow’d upon it, all which he cur’d by *Stroaking*; ’tis so in our Author. *King Charles*, who stroak’d also for the *King’s Evil*, order’d

der'd him to be brought to *Whitehall*, and from thence he daily repair'd to *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, to cure the Multitudes that flock'd thither to have their Wounds heal'd, and their Heads broken. But failing at last, and sneaking off all on a sudden, *diminish'd the Wonder*, says the Historian, as gravely as he says any Thing. However, the King having given him Countenance, he adds his own Certificate to it, that several of the Facts were *manifest and unquestionable*. And so would it be, if himself would set up and Stroak, as the *Irishman* did in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*. Strong Faith, and a Chance of One in a Hundred, may produce a Cure sufficient to make a *Wonder* among the Credulous. Of such Materials does a great Part of his *prodigious and uncommon* History consist; and certainly the Reader must needs be *captivated* with them.

This *Greatarakes* had been a Lieutenant in the Lord *Brogbil's* Regiment in the Parliament's Service; and when he first discover'd his *Gift of Healing* to his Wife, the Woman had more Sense, and wou'd have banter'd him out of it. He was cited to the Bishops Court in *Ireland*, and forbidden to exercise his pretended Talent. When he came to *England*, he went to *Ragley* in *Warwickshire*, to Stroak my Lady *Leigh*; but she might as well have stroak'd her self for the good he did her. And after all his pretended Miracles, Mr. *David Lloyd*, Chaplain to the *Charter-house*, expos'd the Cheat, in a Pamphlet entitled, *Wonders no Miracles*. Why the Historian should take any notice of him, one can't imagine; unless it was to insinuate the Possibility of curing the *King's Evil* by *Stroaking*: And if such a Fellow as *Greatarakes* cou'd do it, sure much more an *Hereditary Monarch*, and a *Religious one*, as *King Charles the Second* was; for, by that Title he

he was pray'd for in Parliament Time, in all *Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, Parish Churches, Chapels, Colleges, Halls, and the like.*

In the Year 1673, *Echard*, speaking of the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* being turn'd out, a few Lines after extols the King's Zeal for the *Protestant Religion.* All the World knows he had been a *Papist* many Years, which however he takes no Notice of, the King having himself lately broken the *Great Seal* affix'd to the *Toleration* to Dissenters.

When any of his persecuting Patriots are disgrac'd, he speaks Mannerly, as that they were *remov'd, or retir'd* from Court; but the Earl of *Shaftsbury* is **TURN'D OUT.** He's full of these courtly Distinctions.

I have more than once observ'd, how he dresses his Work up with Epithets, as a Carrier's Horse is with Bells, and with the same Intent, that it may jog on the more merrily: But I am come to one which is certainly very *uncommon*, and that is, the *formidable Contract* of Marriage between *Mademoiselle d'Este*, and the *Duke of York.* A *Formidable Army, a Formidable Fleet, and a Formidable Alliance* I have heard of; but as to *Formidable Articles of Marriage*, it is entirely new, and he must have the sole Glory of the Use of it.

What was it that made these Marriage Articles so *formidable*? *Mademoiselle's* great Portion; or the great Power of the *Duke of Modena*? No, certainly; it must be the Friendship the *French King* had for her and her Husband, which could bode no Good to *England*: But this is too much *Secret History* for so scrupulous a Writer as *Mr. Echard.*

The Reader will all along, from the Beginning to the End of his History, find him in an extraordinary

ordinary good Humour, when any of his *Self-Preservation* Acts are going forward to *coerce* our Protestant Brethren to come to *Church*.

If he knows any thing of the State of Religion Abroad, he will wonder why such Severities should be practis'd against Christians in *England*, when the rest of *Christendom*, *Papists* and *Lutherans* excepted, profess the very same Doctrine and Discipline. What we have hinted in several Places, will give him some Light into the Contest. Persecutors cannot bear the least Opposition to their Dominion and Interest, which they would have us revere as the *Church*, though the Church of Christ is entirely Spiritual, and his *Kingdom not of this World*.

Several of the Reverend Fathers of our Church have told us as much; but *Laud*, *Juxon*, *Sheldon*, &c. made that Kingdom to consist in *Dignities*, *Possessions*, *Powers*, *Vestments*, *Ceremonies*, &c. And the *Historian* writes as if he never had heard of any other Kingdom, or never desir'd to be one of it.

Bishop *Burnet* in his last History, gives us a wonderful Character of the Piety and Primitive Christianity of Archbishop *Leighton*, Son of Dr. *Leighton*, whom *Laud* procur'd to be so tortur'd and stigmatiz'd; and p. 289, writes as follows:

“ *Leighton* undertook the Administration of
 “ the See of *Glasgow*, where he held a Synod of
 “ his *Clergy*, in which nothing was to be heard,
 “ but Complaints of Desertion and ill Usage.
 “ *Leighton*, in a Sermon that he preach'd to
 “ them, and in several Discourses both in Pub-
 “ lick and Private, exhorted them to look up
 “ more to God, to consider themselves as the
 “ Ministers of the *Cross* of Christ; to bear the
 “ Contempt and ill Usage they met with, as a
 “ Cross laid on them for the Exercise of their
 “ Faith

“ Faith and Patience ; to lay aside all the Appet-
 “ ites of Revenge, to humble themselves before
 “ God together, that they might quicken and as-
 “ sist one another in those holy Exercises, and
 “ then they might expect Blessings from Hea-
 “ ven upon their Labours. This was a new Strain
 “ to the *Clergy*. They had nothing to say against
 “ it, but it was a comfortless Doctrine to them,
 “ and they had not been accusom’d to it. His
 “ *Lordship* proceeds, No *speedy* ways were propos’d
 “ for forcing the People to come to Church, nor
 “ for sending *Soldiers* among them, or raising the
 “ *Fines*, to which they were liable ; so they went
 “ away as ill edify’d with their new Bishop, as
 “ he was with them.

The *speedy* ways they wanted, are Mr. *Echard’s*
Self-Preservation Acts, *Uniformity*, *Corporation*,
 and *Five-Mile Acts*, &c. He and all his Admir-
 ers will assert, that every Thing is said here out
 of Enmity to the *Church*, and Affection to the
Dissenters : But the Reader will not be led away
 by this false Light any longer. He knows the Op-
 nion of the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and the Bishop
 of *Salisbury* ; he knows the Opinion of many o-
 ther pious and learned Prelates of our Church,
 which is the very same we endeavour to inculcate,
 and which as Archbishop *Leighton* experienc’d, the
Clergy will never allow to be Orthodox, it being
 corrupted with Moderation and Charity.

I have often explain’d my self as to the Word
Clergy, that I do not intend the Reverend, Learn-
 ed and Loyal Body of the Church of *England* Di-
 vines ; but those who in direct Opposition to the
 Light of the Gospel and Nature, would set up
 their arbitrary Wills, and temporal Interests, in-
 stead of Religion and Virtue. In a word, such
 as *Laud*, *Morley*, *Wren*, *Montague*, *Mauwaring*,
 Sib-

Sibthorp, in our Fathers Days; such as *Atterbury*, *Hicks*, *Higgins*, *Hill*, *Sacheverel*, *Trap*, the *Historian*, &c. in our own.

In the Time of the *Civil War*, Mr. *Echard* bestow'd his *Laurels* mostly on one Side, that of the King, and he continues the same Loyal Spirit in this Reign. For in the *Second Dutch War* he tells us the Duke of *Tork* got the *Appearance of a Victory*; but Bishop *Burnet* says otherwise. *De Ruyter* had the Glory of surprizing the English Fleet in SOULD-BAY, when they were thinking less of engaging the Enemy, than of an extravagant Preparation for the usual Disorders of the 29th of May, call'd also the Anniversary Thanksgiving for King *Charles's* Nativity and Restoration; on which Day the same Faction continue to commit the same Disorders, to keep up the same Spirit of Tyranny Ecclesiastical and Civil.

In the Year 1675, there was a famous Struggle in the House of Lords about a *Test Act*, contriv'd by the Earl of *Danby*, the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and some of the Bishops; which if it had pass'd, would have given up our Rights and Liberties to the Oppression and Cruelty of Favourites and Priests. Great was the Opposition it met with, and Mr. *Echard* found so many noble Names on the Negative Side, that he has not recommended this detestable *Act*, as he has done others of the like Tendency; but one might still perceive, he would not have voted as they did, if he had a Vote to give; for he reports the Matter wrong.

I would not have the Reader think I am the only Person who has charg'd him with Falshood and Misrepresentation. Besides Dr. *Calamy*, whose Remarks are Publick, the learned and ingenious *Monsieur des Maizeaux*, Editor of a Collection of Mr. *Locke's* Pieces, speaking of this infamous *Test*,
and

and that great Author's Account of it, writes as follows, p. 135.

“ Mr. Echard in his History of England, Vol. II.
 “ *ad An. 1675*, p. 383, hath transcrib'd several
 “ Paragraphs of Mr. Locke's Letter, tho' he never
 “ cites it, and ends his Relation of the Debate
 “ thus: *The Debate*, says he, *lasted Sixteen or*
 “ *Seventeen whole Days. The House often sitting*
 “ *till Nine at Night, and sometimes till Midnight;*
 “ *in the Conclusion of which the Duke of Bucking-*
 “ *ham, as General of the Party, and last in the*
 “ *Field, made a famous Speech, consisting of Elo-*
 “ *quent, Regular, and well-plac'd Nonsense, hoping*
 “ *that that might prevail, when nothing else would,*
 “ *and so brought Confusion into the House:* where
 “ besides the *Unaccuracy* of bringing into his Nar-
 “ rative, and making his own the Expressions
 “ which the Author of the Letter had us'd by
 “ way of Compliment or Encomium, and there-
 “ by *misrepresenting* the Matter; He affirms, that
 the Debate was put to an end by the Confusion
 which the Duke of Buckingham's Speech brought
 into the House, *which is false*; for it appears by
 the Letter it self, *that no Confusion was brought*
into the House by that Speech, but on the contra-
 ry, that after a short Reply of the Earl of Win-
 chelsea, the Question was put regularly to the
 Vote, and carry'd as *the Court and Bishops* would
 have it.

Mr. Des Maizeaux here lays to his Charge
Falshood and *Misrepresentation* as to Fact, and *Un-*
accuracy as to Method, which is what I have
 been all this while contending for: What that
 Gentleman says of his *Unaccuracy* in *making the*
Expressions of others his own, is so common with
 him, that one might fill a Volume with Instances
 of it: Nay, that he has made Use of the Words
 of an Author, whose Reputation he has endea-
 vour'd

vour'd to lessen. By this Means, there's such a strange Variety of *Stile* in his History: The Flatness of *Heylin*, *Nalson*, *Manley*, &c. making *Patchwork* with the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Eloquence, and his own swelling Epithets. I will leave the *Popish Plot* as it is left by King, Lords, and Commons, and the solemn Declarations of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, that it was a *real and damnable Conspiracy*. Mr. *Echard* will not encounter such Authority by way of Defiance, but has some insipid Jest on the Matter of the *Plot*, and some virulent Reflections on the Witnesses, warranted by a *French Jesuit*, *Pere Orleans*, who inform'd him, that King *Charles* *dissembled a Credulity*, which did a great deal of *Mischief*; and the best Warrant Father *Orleans* had, was the Information of King *James the Second*.

I refer the Reader to the before-cited *Ten Letters* *Vide* III. and IV. for the full Evidence of the *Popish Plot*. It was perhaps a little too much Squeamishness in Bishop *Burnet*, which made him Sceptical in the Matter; but in *Echard* 'tis flaming Zeal for the Cause which *L'Estrange* espous'd in his weekly Libels. When the Writer of the Letters speaks, *Lett. V.* of the Murther of Sir *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, of what the Archdeacon says to invalidate and weaken the Credit of the *Plot*; he adds, *I believe it will appear to all unbiass'd Persons, what Dependance is to be put upon the Historian's Judgment or Honesty*. He then gives several undoubted Proofs that Sir *Edmund* was murder'd, and that the *Popish Plot* was a real Conspiracy, answering *Echard*'s malicious Reflections, and insolent, though insipid Raillery upon the Witnesses for the Crown.

As to the Earl of *Essex*'s cutting his own Throat, the same Author proves the Improbability, if not the Impossibility of it, notwithstanding what
Echard

Echard says he was told by Two Eminent Divines. That Author defies him to name his Two Divines; and offers to evince the contrary to what both they and he affirm'd. See the Thirteenth Letter in the Pamphlet entituled, *Remarks upon Archdeacon Echard's History of England, with Relation to the Fire of London, &c.* In Ten Letters to the Author of the *Critical History of England Ecclesiastical and Civil*, written by a Gentleman who liv'd in all those Times.

When the Tryals of the State Offenders were coming on, there arose a Debate about the Bishops Votes in Parliament in Capital Cases. The Earl of *Northampton* and the Lord *Roberts* argu'd for the Bishops: The Earls of *Shaftsbury*, *Essex*, and the Lord *Hollis* against them. Many Books were also written on both Sides of the Argument.

Let us see how differently the Bishop of *Salisbury* and Archdeacon *Echard* represent it.

About this Time, says *Echard*, there seem'd to be a more than ordinary Spleen against the Bishops; and three of them, *Gunning Bishop of Ely*, *Pritchard Bishop of Gloucester*, and *Mew Bishop of Bath and Wells*, were accus'd for Papists; but the Accusation soon fell, it being discover'd to be a malicious Contrivance to blast the Reputation of so holy and frugal a Man as *Mew* was.

We shall see who it was that really blasted their Reputation, by Bishop *Burnet's* History, and it is a remarkable Passage. From this Event the persecuting Faction began to exert their utmost Rage against Protestant Dissenters, and an implacable Spirit flam'd out in all Parts of the Kingdom, especially under *Mew of Bath and Wells*, and *Ward of Salisbury*.

“ Upon this Debate, *says my Lord of Sarum*,
“ it was carry’d by the Majority that the *Bishops*
“ had a Right to vote. Upon which the *Com-*
“ *mons* said they would not proceed, unless the
“ *Bishops* were oblig’d to withdraw during the
“ whole Tryal. *Earl of Danby’s*. And upon
“ that Breach between the Two Houses, the
“ Parliament was prorogu’d; and soon after it
“ was dissolv’d: and the Blame of this was cast
“ chiefly upon the *Bishops*. The Truth was, they
“ desir’d to have withdrawn, but the King would
“ not suffer it. He was so set on maintaining
“ the *Earl of Danby’s* Pardon, that he would not
“ venture such a Point on the Vote of the *Tem-*
“ *poral* Lords. And he told the *Bishops*, they
“ must stick to him and to his Prerogative,
“ as they would expect that he should stick
“ to them, if they came to be push’d at. By
“ this means they were expos’d to the popular
“ Fury, as a Set of Men that for their own
“ Ends, and for every Punctilio that they pre-
“ tended to, would expose the Nation and the
“ Protestant Religion to Ruin.

Then speaking of the angry Writings for and
against them, his Lordship adds: “ The chief
“ Manager of the *Writings* for the *Bishops* and
“ *Clergy*, was one *Roger L’Estrange*, a Man who
“ had liv’d in all the late Times, and was fur-
“ nish’d with many Passages, and unexhausted
“ Copiousness in writing; so that for Four Years
“ he publish’d Three or Four *Sheets* a Week un-
“ der the Title of the *Observer*; all tending to
“ defame the contrary Party, *sober Churchmen* and
“ *Dissenters*, and to make the *Clergy* apprehend
“ their Ruin was design’d. *This was the Game*
“ *Lesley* play’d in his Rehearsal. This had all
“ the Success he could have wish’d for, as it drew
“ considerable Sums that were rais’d to acknow-

“ acknowledge the Service he did. Upon this
 “ the greater Part of the *Clergy*, who were already
 “ much prejudic’d against that Party, being now
 “ both sharpen’d and furnish’d by these Papers,
 “ deliver’d themselves up to much *Heat* and *In-*
 “ *discretion*, which was much vented both in
 “ their *Pulpits* and common Conversation, and
 “ most particularly at the Elections of *Parlia-*
 “ *ment* Men; and this drew much *Hatred* and
 “ *Censure* upon them. They seem’d now to lay
 “ down all Fears and Apprehensions of *Popery*,
 “ and nothing was so common in their Mouths
 “ as the Year 1641. Both City and Country were
 “ full of many Indecencies.

Exactly our own Times. Such Declaimers as
L’Estrange, such Preachers as learnt of him, have
 appear’d against our Constitution, such Topicks
 have they argu’d upon with the same furious and
 destructive Zeal. But as then, we have met with
 other Clergymen, Champions for our Religious
 and Civil Liberties, and Lessons to all that know
 them for Piety and Wisdom. The Bishop goes
 on.

“ But as there were too many of the Clergy,
 “ whom the Heat of their Tempers and the
 “ Hope of Preferment drove to such Extrava-
 “ gancies; so there were still many Worthy and
 “ Eminent Men among them, whose Lives and
 “ Labours did in a great Measure rescue the
 “ Church from those Reproaches that the Follies
 “ of others drew upon it. Such were, besides
 “ those whom I have often nam’d, *Tennison*,
 “ *Sharp*, *Patrick*, *Sherlock*, *Fowler*, *Scot*, *Cala-*
 “ *my*, *Claget*, *Cudworth*, *Two Mores*, *Williams*,
 “ and many others.

The Murder of the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*
 is so horrid an Act, that one trembles to think of
 it, and no Punishment could be too severe for the
 Mur-

Murderers. But Mr. Egbard's Way of introducing it turns off our Resentments from them to himself. *This Horrid Fact was committed the Third of May, some Time after the Reception of the Earl of Shaftsbury's Speech in Scotland.* Sweetly insinuating, that my Lord *Shaftsbury* instigated them to that barbarous Murder in *Scotland*, by what he spoke in the House of Lords in *England*.

The *Conventiclers* who got together at *Glasgow* were, according to *Bishop Burnet*, *hunted from their Houses by Persecution*; of which our *Historian* takes not the least Notice.

When he gives us a Relation of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Victory over them, he assures us, they were 17000 strong, that 800 were kill'd on the Spot, and 1200 taken. But *Bishop Burnet* on the contrary says they were only 4000, and that only between 2 and 300 were kill'd. I shou'd not have mention'd such a Falstiy in Fact as this, if it had not been to warn the Reader against relying upon his Numbers on both Sides in the *History of the Civil Wars*. As it makes for the Glory of the *Cavaliers* to have more or less in Number, so will his *Musters* appear to be, when compar'd with *Rushworth* and *Whitlock*. He has increas'd that of the *Conventiclers*, to intimate there was a prodigious Multitude of them got together against the Church, which help'd a little to justify the Cruelties exercis'd against their *Name-lakes* in *England*.

Not long after he drops his Hero; *Monmouth* is out, *Shaftsbury* again turn'd out at the Solicitation of the Duke of *York*. Such is his best Language for those that were not of the persecuting Faction. I am sensible this is no very important Observation; it is only intended to shew the Disposition of the Man, and is not so mean in me to observe it, as in him to be guilty of it.

'Tis plain *Monmouth* in his Paragraph: The very next is made up of *His Royal Highness*, and *Her Royal Highness*, and *their Royal Highnesses*, almost in every Line. Insomuch that the Page is all Flourish, or rather his Coat is all Lace, which tho' a little of it is decent, turns it into taudry, and the more, for that his Elocution in the Case of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* is so very slovenly. The Bishop of *Salisbury* makes use of the same plain Terms, with respect to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, but then it was to shew the Malignity of the King's Favourites, that procur'd his Disgrace for exciting the Privy Council to represent to his Majesty the Danger he was in by his Royal Highness's being so near him.

When he tells us the Lord *Russel*, the Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel* and Mr. *Powle* quitted their Seats at the Council Board, he has his old Word *under Pretence* of despairing to be able to serve the King. He says the King, upon their Request so to do, answer'd with his usual *Frankness*, *With all my Heart*. Intimating he was glad they were gone. Whereas in Truth that usual *Frankness* was usual *Disimulation*. For King *Charles* knew better than our *Historian*, what a Weight they took away from him; and my Lord of *Sarum* tells us, *He was so highly offended, that he became more sullen and untractable*.

Dangerfield's Plot was one of the most damnable which the Malice of *Hell* ever invented. The Lord *Castlemain*, Lord and Lady *Powis*, Lord *Arundel*, and other Popish Lords and Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were deep in it. The *Historian* can't disguise it, and therefore take it in his own Words. *By the Lords Orders he was to go to the principal Coffee-houses, and disperse Pamphlets. He had deliver'd to him Forty Lists*

Lists of Names, containing above 800 of the chief Protestant Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Citizens of England. These were privately to be put by their Agents throughout England in the Houses of Non-conformists and other Protestants; and then Search being made on other Pretences, when these dangerous Papers were found, the Persons mention'd would be seiz'd for Treason. Here was a Design to let out the best Blood in the Nation. And who was it that gave it Encouragement? Bishop Burnet informs us, He was carry'd first to the Duke, and then to the King, and had weekly Allowance of Money, and was very kindly used.

Tho' this Presbyterian Plot did not succeed in Dangerfield's Hands, it succeeded in Rumsey's and West's, where we shall find Mr. Echard has quite forgotten Mr. Dangerfield.

The Farce that was acted at Court upon the Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament, is exactly copied out of the *Gazettes*. When he speaks of Dangerfield's being a Witness against some of the Court Creatures, he adds, His Actions had been such as could not make him a creditable one. This is so common a Reflection, that 'tis hardly worth Remark. Can one expect Evidence of monstrous Villany, but from a Villain! However, his Actions were long before he became a Witness, and he had been purify'd by his Conversation with the Two Royal Brothers. The Truth is, his being a Witness is his greatest Crime with these Men: For while he was only a Coiner, a Pick-pocket, a Pimp, a Scoundrel, he lay in their Bosoms.

How politick is that Observation of his, That the presenting a Bill of Indictment against the Duke of York as a Papist, by several Lords and Gentlemen, was breaking all Measures with his Royal Highness. As if their pushing the Bill of

Exclu-

Exclusion to hinder his Succession to the Crown, was not much more *breaking all Measures*, or as if those Lords and Gentlemen desir'd to keep any with him, who kept none with our Religion and Liberties.

After the Dissolution of the *Oxford Parliament*, every one knows King *Charles the Second* set up a *Despotick Power*; That Plots were form'd to murder the principal Promoters of the *Exclusion Bill* and their Abettors; That the Kingdom was over-run with Informers, Prosecutions, Imprisonments, Fines, Misery and Ruin, on account of Conscience. Let us see how the *Historian* disguises these Truths, and in what other Language he tells them. *This Dissolution shew'd an universal Courage in the King, and gave a remarkable Turn in the Fate of the Nation. It open'd the Passage to a more independent Administration, and a less Mixture of Government; so that his Majesty had both a Pretence and an Opportunity for the Remainder of his Reign, to act more like an absolute Monarch.* Can any Thing give a King of *England* a Pretence to act against the Laws? No Matter, his Authority was exercis'd in the Destruction of the *Dissenters*, and therefore his *absolute Government* is not only approv'd of, but applauded.

When the King's Declaration was publish'd to justify his sudden dissolving the Parliament, *Bishop Burnet* informs us an Answer was written to it "with great Spirit and Judgment. It was at first penn'd by *Sidney*, but a new Draught was made by *Somers*". *Echard* not knowing that the Piece came from such illustrious Hands, is arch upon it, and says, the Author was soon lash'd by the satyrical Pen of *John Dryden*, who undertook to expose the Exorbitances of him and his Friends: That is, who was so impudent as to libel

Colo-

Colonel *Sidney* and the Lord *Somers*, and to expose them in a Matter of *Argument* and *Law*. *Dryden's Absalom* and *Achitophel*, his *Medal*, and other satyrical Pieces on the same Side with our *Historian*, gives him a Place in his Panegyricks. Though Bishop *Burnet* says of him, *The Stage was desit'd beyond all Example, Dryden being a Monster of Immodesty and Impurity of all Sorts*, p. 269; for which, good Verses and much Malice make but a sorry amends.

In *Colledge's Case*, the *Historian* discovers again his inveterate Aversion to those that prosecuted the *Popish Plot*, and his as strong Affection to those that prosecuted the Dissenters. *Colledge* was murder'd by the Sentence of *North* the Chief Justice, at *Oxford*, after he had been clear'd by a *London Jury*. Mr. *Echard* has doubtless seen Sir *John Hawles* the Learned Solicitor-General's Remarks on *Colledge's Tryal*, proving it to be illegal, and consequently his Death a most barbarous Murder. He could not but know, that King, Lords and Commons, call'd it as much, when they repeal'd his Attainder; and yet he once more applies *Divine Vengeance* to his unjust and terrible Sufferings. *Whatever he was*, to use his own Words, *'tis hard to vindicate his insatiable Endeavours after the Blood of the Lord Stafford, and others; and his dying by the same Witnesses, whose Credit he had supported, looks more like the just Vengeance of Heaven, than the unjust Punishment of Men*. The Behaviour of this poor Mechanick, at the Time of his Death, had so much of the *Hero* and *Saint* in it, as to shew us that Piety and Innocence are as capable of raising and enlarging the Mind, as Birth, Education, Riches and Honours. It must be own'd, his Zeal was superior to his Condition, and himself lamented the Intemperance of his Tongue in the warm Parts of

his Life. Now the Court, says the Bishop of Sarum, intended to set the Witnesses to swear against all the bot Party, which was plainly Murder in them, who believ'd them false Witnesses, and yet made use of them to destroy others. And now his Majesty enjoy'd himself, as Echard writes, more than in some Tears before; being complimented by the Addresses of his Subjects, which still flow'd from all Parts of the Kingdom.

I have read the History of Addresses, and there's not any where else to be met with so much Fastidiousness, Flattery, False Zeal, Contradiction, foul Language, Execration, Malice, Revenge, Dulness and Nonsense. Quack Bills are Treasures to them for Honesty, good Sense, Learning and Eloquence. What an Enjoyment here was! A Dream had been a much more solid one. "The greater Number, and more acceptable of these Addresses, says Bishop Burnet, are those which declar'd they would adhere to the unalterable Succession of the Crown in the Lineal and Legal Descent, and condemn'd the Bill of Exclusion. Others went higher, and arraign'd the late Parliament, as guilty of Sedition and Treason. Here's Enjoyment with a Witness; and nothing could please our Historian more, but what follows. Some reflected severely on the Nonconformists, and thank'd the King for not repealing the Act of the Thirty Fifth of Elizabeth, which they pray'd might be put in Execution: Some of them much magnified the King's Person and Government.

What that Government was, is now very well known; and such as it was, the most fulsome Panegyrick upon it was spoken by Dr. Gower, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, printed at large in Mr. Echard's History, as if it was really worth Reading. The Doctor, next to the over-ruling Provi-

Providence of God, (these Men are not afraid of taking that Sacred Name in vain) blesses himself in his Majesty's Royal Care and Providence, by giving so seasonable a Check to arbitrary and insolent Undertakings : The Parliament he means, out of the abundance of his Understanding and Modesty. There were a few Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament, and a vast Number of Addresses in Abhorrence of these Petitions. We read in Bishop Burnet's History, that the witty Marquis of *Halifax* could not help shewing his Contempt of these *Speech-makers* and *Addres-sers*. The Petitioners for a Parliament, said he, spit in the King's Face ; but the Addressers spit in his Mouth.

The King goes to *Cambridge* soon after the Reverend Doctor's Speech was over, and the Queen had a Noble Present from the *University*, very equal to the Vice-Chancellor's *Panegyrick*, which certainly had not been repriev'd from the most indecent Offices so long, had it not taken Shelter in *Echard's* History. The Present was,

Dugdale's View of the late Troubles.

This was not all which contributed to the King's enjoying himself more than he had done in several Years before. The Bishop adds, "Many zealous *Healths* were drank ; and in their Cups, the old Valour and *Swaggerings* of the *Cavaliers* seem'd to be reviv'd.

Though *Dangerfield's* Plot turn'd on the *Papists*, yet they would not give over, but resolv'd to try another of the like Kind. A second treasonable Libel was to have been dispers'd, search'd for, and found in the Custody of the chief Lords and Commons of the *Protestant* Interest. The Libel was written with the King's Privy, as we read in *Echard* ; and to find out the Bottom of

it, the Parliament at *Oxford* resolv'd to proceed against *Fitz-Harris*, the Author or Contriver of it, by *Impeachment*; to prevent which, the King dissolv'd them, and *Fitz-Harris* was hang'd out of the way.

Here Mr. *Echard* prepares for the future Murders, under Pretence of a *Presbyterian* Plot, by telling you what that Learned, Ingenious, and Judicious Divine, Mr. *Hawkins*, *Tower-Chaplain*, receiv'd in Confession from the *Papist Fitz-Harris*; That the *Protestant* Party had a Design to seize the Person of the King; which is as likely as many other Things in his History, or as that they would let a *Popish* Lawyer into the Secret.

This Confession of *Fitz-Harris*, with all the staring Marks of *Imposture*, is recorded in the same *Chronicle*, where an Account is given of the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Indictment, and the *Irish* Evidence that swore against him. But what, says Mr. *Echard*, made more Noise than their Testimony, and had greater Effects upon the Nation, was the Association found in the Earl's Study, which he boldly asserts was believ'd to have been form'd by himself; whereas there was not a sober sensible Man in *England* that believ'd a Word of it, unless it were the Faction that spit in the King's Mouth: And if they were sensible sober Persons, let their Works judge them.

Quite contrary once more to this Mr. *Echard*, we have the Bishop of *Sarum*: But when there was a Talk of an Association, as there lately had been in Parliament, some had form'd this Paper, and brought it to him; of which he always profess'd, after the Matter was over, that he remember'd nothing at all: So it is probable that, as is ordinary when any great Business is before the Parliament, that zealous Men are at the Doors with their se-
veral

veral Draughts; this was one of these, cast carelessly by, and not thought of by him, when he had sent his more valuable Papers out of the way. Notwithstanding all which, our Historian tells us, it rous'd the Indignation, and rais'd the highest Resentment; which spent it self in the inhuman Persecution of our Protestant Brethren.

One of the dullest and most malignant Addresses was sent up by a Parcel of idle Fellows at Bristol, call'd the *Artillery Company*. By the abundance of Epithets, one would think the *Historian* had had the wording of it himself. He is so fond of it, that he has given it the same Room as the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge's Speech had; and it is altogether as worthy. These *Artillery-Men* protest against the *Rebellious, Accursed, Hellish, Unprecedented Association*.

The Duke of York had been in Scotland, and pass'd a *Test-Act*, which occasion'd the Condemnation of the Earl of Argyle, who escap'd his Cruelty by Flight. In the Duke's Passage to England, aboard the *Gloucester-Frigate*, the Ship struck on some Sands, and was cast away. In Mr. E-chard's Account of this Shipwreck, there's more *Partiality* and *Misrepresentations*, than one would think could be express'd in so few Words. I leave it to the Reader, whether I might not have call'd it *Falshood*; but I'm not delighted with the Word, and wish I had not been oblig'd so often to make use of it.

His Royal Highness stay'd, till having Notice given that there was above Seven Foot Water in the Hold, he put off in his Pinnace, with as many of the Best Persons as it would well hold, and sav'd himself aboard the *Mary Tatch*.

Now read the Bishop of Salisbury's Account.

"The Duke got into a Boat, and took care of his Dogs, and some unknown Persons, who
" were

“ were taken, from that Care of his, to be his
 “ Priests. The Long-Boat went off with *very*
 “ *few* in her, though she might have carry’d off
 “ above Eighty more than she did. One Hun-
 “ dred and Fifty Persons perish’d : Some Men of
 “ great Quality. But the Duke took no Notice
 “ of this cruel Neglect ; which was laid chiefly
 “ to the Charge of *Legg*, afterwards Lord *Dart-*
mouth, and one of our *Historian’s* Heroes.

Can any Thing agree less with *Historical* Truth, than the former Account compar’d with the latter ? And I doubt not, this will warrant my making use of the Terms *Falshood* and *Misrepresentation*. I would not offend against Decency, but on the surest Grounds ; and then it ceases to be an Offence.

After he has borrow’d from *L’Estrange*, and the other *Hireling* Writers, whatever they say most fulsome of that illegal Administration, and most virulent against the *Asserters of Liberty* ; he begins to consider, that every Word he says of that Kind is Sedition, if not Treason against our present Establishment, founded on Revolution Principles. He owns, *The Clergy swell’d Things so high, as made them so difficult to be reconcil’d with the Liberties of the Nation, or with the great Deliverance that happen’d afterwards*. All this is right ; and had such Sentiments as these guided him through his Work, we should not have differ’d. But he cannot help declaring presently after, that the Doctrines of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* were not only more Fashionable, but more necessary than ever they had been before ; which is as wrong, as it is possible for any Thing to be right : For, never was the Government of *England* more Tyrannical ; never did Oppression rage more than at this Time. Himself is consci-

ous of the wicked Practices of the Ministers, to accomplish their bloody Purposes.

While the *Sheriffs* of *London* were honest, that is, Men of *Religion* and *Virtue*, *Juries* were not pack'd to do any Business, but the *Law's*. The Lord *Shaftsbury's* Jury consisted of the most eminent Citizens of *London*, either for *Wealth* or *Worth*.

Sir *Samuel Barnardiston*, Baronet.

Sir *John Mordaunt*, Baronet.

Sir *Humphrey Edwyn*, afterwards Lord-Mayor.

Sir *Edmund Harrison*.

Sir *Leonard Robinson*, afterwards Chamberlain.

Michael Godfrey, Esq; afterwards Governor of the Bank.

Thomas Papillon, Esq; } Members of Parlia-
Edward Rudge, Esq; } ment.

John Dubois, Esq; &c.

When Mr. *Wilmore*, Foreman of *Colledge's Ignoramus* Jury, was try'd, and found guilty of sending a Boy to *Jamaica*, by a Jury of *Kentish* Men; *Echard* has this very wise and mannerly Reflection upon it. *The Kentish Jury* never went from the Bar; so much Difference was there between a Country and a City Jury.

I don't know how to reflect on this vile Comparison between so eminent worthy Citizens, and a pack'd Jury of *Kentish* Yeomen, who for their Perjury in an illegal Verdict, might very well have lost Eight or Ten Ears, to use his own Terms, and have had no Injustice done them. *Echard* affirms the Boy was stolen. Sir *John Hawles*, who has made Remarks on this scandalous Tryal, tells us, *The Boy was Mr. Wilmore's Servant, and went to Sea by Agreement.* Sir *John* adds, *Juries were*

were not to be pack'd, while the Election of Sheriffs was in the Citizens; and to the Honour of the City it was seen, that they chose only Honest Men to be their Sheriffs. Misrepresentation is too soft a Word for such History; but I have not yet learn'd from his own, to use the Terms *Villainous, Hellish, &c.* The London Juries began to be distinguish'd, says he, and fam'd abroad in the Nation for Rascals and Scoundrels, that gave Verdicts against their Consciences. To prevent this, the Court resolv'd upon Two Expedients, to alter the late Method of electing Sheriffs, and to bring a Quo Warranto against the City Charter. You'll see how he compliments the City Juries, who were pack'd after the Court had alter'd the Method of electing Sheriffs, stain'd as they were with the Blood of the Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, Alderman Cornish, &c. Obscure and infamous Sheriffs were impos'd upon the City; and the Laws were put into the Hands of those Butchers, *Jesseries, Wright*, and their Brethren. The rest of this Reign is nothing but a Series of illegal and sanguinary Proceedings. It began with the pretended Election of *North* and *Rich*, Sheriffs of London, which was carry'd on by the Creatures of the Court, with Tumult and Violence.

Mr. Echard's Representation of the Fact is entirely on that Side, though the Consequences of it were so terrible, and so many Butcheries immediately follow'd. I must abridge his Account.

"*Moore*, the Lord-Mayor, drank to *North* according to ancient Custom; by which he was chosen Sheriff.

Pray mind his *Positiveness* here, in a Thing he knew nothing of. He does not say *nominated*, or *design'd*; but that he was *elected* Sheriff, by having a Cup of Sack drank to him.

"*Moore*

“ Moore summon’d a Hall to confirm North’s
“ Election, and so chose Box for the other Sbe-
“ riff. Against these Papillon and Dubois were
“ put up. The Poll was manag’d by the Sberiffs
“ Pilkington and Shute, who refus’d the Names
“ of those that offer’d to poll in Confirmation of
“ North, and the Election of Box ; *which is di-*
“ *rectly false, and so is what follows* : But took
“ Names on the other Side of Persons who were
“ not actually present, *than which nothing can be*
“ *false*, or not duly entitled to vote. Upon this
“ the Lord Mayor adjourn’d the Hall, and the
“ Crowd was so great, that he was thrown upon
“ his Knees. However, the Two Sheriffs conti-
“ nu’d the Poll without him till Night. The
“ Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs were sent
“ for to Court, where the Matter being FUL-
“ LY examin’d by the King and Council, the Two
“ Sheriffs were sent to the Tower, to prevent
“ their continuing the Poll.

By this, without farther Proof, it appears that the King and his Council interfer’d in a Thing which did not belong to them, and imprison’d the Sheriffs of London for doing their Duty. As to their refusing Votes on one Side, and taking false ones on the other, let me only observe farther, that it was extremely needless, Papillon and Dubois having near two to one against North and Rich. The Ceremony of drinking was never look-
ed upon but as a Nomination or Designation, of no Force ’till confirm’d by the Common Hall : But Mr. Echard will have it, that North was fully and fairly chosen, by being drank to. Drinking indeed has been one of the best Friends to the Cause he espouses, and the Religion and Zeal of it have been most apparent in the Toasts which from this scandalous Æra have been the chief Support of it. But that Sheriffs were to be cho-
sen

sen by a Glas of Wine only, is as ridiculous as the Effects of it were dreadful. The Bishop of Salisbury says, *The Charter granted the Election of Sheriffs to the City of London, and whatever Customs had crept in among them, the Right still lay where the Charter had lodg'd it: But the Court was resolv'd to carry this Point. The Common Hall urg'd, the Right of chusing both Sheriffs was in them. The old Sheriffs put it according to Custom to a Poll, and it was visible the much greater Number was against the Lord Mayor. The Sheriffs were always understood to be the Officers of that Court, so the adjourning it belong'd to them; yet the Mayor adjourn'd it; which, they said, he had no Power to do; and went on with the Poll. There was no Disorder in the whole Progress of the Matter: But though the Mayor's Party carry'd themselves with great Insolence towards the other Party, yet they shew'd on this Occasion more Temper than could have been expected from so great a Body, who thought their Rights were invaded.*

Nevertheless Mr. Echard assures you, that after the FULL Examination of the Matter, an Information was order'd to be exhibited against the Two Sheriffs, and Alderman Cornish, for being Promoters and Encouragers of the late enormous Riot, where no Disorder happen'd. The Bishop goes on.

“ The Mayor upon this resolv'd to take another Poll, to which none shou'd be admitted,
 “ but those that would be contented to vote only for one, and to approve his Nomination of the other, and it was resolv'd that his Poll
 “ should be that by which the Business should be settled; and though the Sheriffs Poll exceeded his by many Hundreds, yet Orders were given
 “ to return those on the Mayor's Poll. Box,
 “ who was chosen by the Mayor's Party, refus'd
 “ to

“ to serve on so doubtful an Election, and could
 “ not be persuaded to hold it; so it was neces-
 “ sary to call a new *Common Hall*. And then
 “ without any *Proclamation* made, as was usual,
 “ one in a Corner near the *Mayor* nam’d *Rich*,
 “ and about 30 more applauded it: Those in
 “ the Hall that was full of People and of Noise,
 “ hearing nothing of it. Upon this it was said
 “ that *Rich* was chosen without any Contradi-
 “ ction. The Violence and Injustice with which
 “ this Matter was manag’d, shew’d that the
 “ Court was resolv’d to carry that Point at any
 “ Rate; and this gave great Occasion of Je-
 “ lously that some wicked Design was on Foot,
 “ for which it was necessary in the first Place to
 “ have favourable *Juries*.

Yet it could not be imagin’d that so many
 Murders, Whippings, prodigious Fines, could
 have been procur’d in Two or Three Years Time.
 But they drove fast on, and their Fate was suit-
 able to their Speed. See how Mr. *Echard* insults
 the honest Citizens of *London*, and flatters the
 Court Creatures on this Occasion.

The Power of the same Party, the Protestant In-
terest, began sensibly to diminish, and so sensibly
that Heraclitus thought it not necessary to contend
with them any longer, but totally laid down his Sa-
tyrical Pen, after Eighteen Months Use of it, in a
Sort of Triumph; that Wittal had so long
scribbled in the Buffoon Way, and little expected
to be recorded in the Chronicles of England.

In his Panegyrick upon *Rich* he informs us, he
 was a Lieutenant Colonel of the Militia, and had
 been a Parliament-Man; but he does not tell us
 that he voted for the Bill of *Exclusion*, and that
Moore the Mayor was just come out of a *Conven-*
ticle. They were both weak Men, and were ea-
 sily prevail’d upon to change Sides. *Rich* especi-
 ally

ally was a Man of as mean Fortune as Capacity, liable to be engag'd in any Cause he could make a Market of. *Sir John Hawles says Box refus'd because he would not join with North, who was impos'd upon the City by a shameless Trick, the other by open Force.* "Whereupon, to use the *Historian's Words*, The Lord Mayor dissolv'd the Court, "and return'd to his House in *Triumph*."

With what Triumphs does he bedeck his Incomparable History! Indeed they are the only Triumphs of the Party he writes for. They have by Trick and Force many times triumph'd over the Laws of our Country, and over the Lives and Fortunes of our best Countrymen. But when a fair Field has been open to them, we have seen how triumphant they were during the Course of a long War.

I have bless'd my self, that considering the Disposition of the Court, and the Honesty of the Judges and Sheriffs, there was so much innocent Blood left. What might one not have expected, when the Lives of so many zealous Protestants were at their Mercy; and 'twas scarce possible for them to want *Juries*, after the People had been so long instructed from the *Pulpits* to treat the Asserters of Liberty as Rebels and Regicides?

'Tis pleasant to see how *critical* our Historian is in his Expressions in the Case of the Candidates for *Mayor*. His Words are these:

Sir William Pritchard was set up against Two Aldermen.

He means *Sir Thomas Gould* and *Henry Cornish, Esq;* Two great Merchants, and *Sir William Pritchard*, a Mechanick.

Sir William Pritchard had 2138

Gould 2124

Cornish 2093

The

The Majority was so far from being uncontested, though the Faction had Sheriffs for their Purpose, that Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Wallop*, Two of the most eminent Lawyers in *England*, mov'd in the *King's-Bench* for a *Mandamus* to swear Alderman *Gould*, or Alderman *Cornish*, which, says *Echard*, was look'd upon as ridiculous; and so it was, to imagine that Law and Justice were to be had at that *Bench* at that Time against the Will and Pleasure of the King. See the Bishop of *Sarum's* State of this Case.

“The Poll for Mayor was clos'd when the
 “Court thought they had a Majority, but upon
 “casting it up, it appear'd they had lost it; so
 “they fell to canvass it, and they made such Ex-
 “ceptions to those of the other Side, that they
 “discounted as many *Voices* as gave them the
 “Majority. This was also manag'd in so gross
 “a Manner, that it was visible the Court was re-
 “solved by fair or foul Means, to have the Go-
 “vernment of the City in their own Hands.
 “But because they would not be at this Trouble,
 “nor run this Hazard every Year, it was resol-
 “ved that the Charter of the City must either
 “be given up, or be adjudg'd to the King.

I earnestly recommend to the Reader to compare the *Bishop's* History with the *Archdeacon's* at this Time. The *Antipodes* are not more contrary to one another, than the latter is to Truth, if the former is in the right.

His next Reflection is of the Kind I have frequently met with in his Work, such as requires great Temper to maintain Decency of Language. For having boasted that the *Whig Party* declin'd, he insinuates that from the Loss of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, they despair'd of succeeding any way, but by raising a *Rebellion*, and killing the King and Duke. For which Plots were soon

made, now *Juries* were ready. *It prov'd a terrible Blow to the disaffected Party, and forc'd them to depend and rely upon more desperate Attempts, and to betake themselves to more secret Counsels and Contrivances.*

At the End of the Year 1682, we have his *Deaths and Characters*, especially that of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, which I do not repeat to depreciate so great and worthy a Magistrate, but to shew what little Dependance is to be made on our *Historian's* Characteristicks. “He was a Person
“who by his great Abilities, Ingenuity and Industry had rais'd himself to the highest Posts in
“the Law, to all which he was a great Ornament, and in all which he so much distinguish'd
“himself, that he was by some stil'd the *Silver-tongu'd Finch*, and by others the *English Cicero*.

My Lord of *Sarum's* Character is this:

“He was a Man of Probity, and well vers'd
“in the Laws. He was long much admir'd for
“his Eloquence: But it was labour'd and affected, and he saw it as much despis'd before
“he dy'd.

I know so much of our *Historian's* Stile, that an affected and labour'd one may very well pass upon him for *Ciceronian*. In the next Page you have my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Character: *When in Power the greatest Tyrant, when out the greatest Incendiary. It is observable, that his entire Friend Mr. Locke, though he displays his wonderful Abilities, and shews his Sagacity and Penetration almost to knowing of Men's Thoughts, says little or nothing of his Honesty, Simplicity, or Integrity.* Happy he that knows and practises these Divine Qualities. Mr. P. Coste, speaking of Mr. Locke, has these Expressions: “I wish I could
“give you a full Notion of the Idea which
“Mr.

“ Mr. Locke had of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*’s Merit: He lost no Opportunity of speaking of it, and that in a manner which sufficiently shew’d he spoke from his Heart. Mr. Locke himself, in his Letter about the *Test Act*, speaks thus of this Noble Lord: “ He was a Man of Diversion, of free and open Discourse, of great Abilities and Knowledge of Affairs; one that in all the Variety of Changes in this last Age, was neither known to be either bought or frighted out of his publick Principles. Glorious Marks these of *Integrity*. By an *Incendiary*, in such Histories as *Echard*’s, is to be understood just such a Person, a Man of publick Principles, who would not basely give up the Rights and Liberties of his Country to Tyranny and Priestcraft. By *Seditious* is meant such as spoke and acted any Thing in Behalf of the Constitution and Protestant Religion, when brought into the utmost Danger by Popish and Arbitrary Counsels. By *Fanaticks* and *Schismaticks* we must understand all the Protestant Churches of *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, &c. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, though he liv’d in *Holland*, was stigmatiz’d as an *Incendiary*. Every Man who is now a dutiful Subject to his present Majesty, is not only *Seditious* but *Rebellious*, according to the Principles and Practices of the Faction, which Mr. *Echard* has crown’d with Laurels, to *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* lately ingrafted into the Doctrine of our Church.

At this Time, says Bishop Burnet, *Juries* became the Shame of the Nation, as well as a Reproach to Religion. For they were pack’d and prepar’d to bring in Verdicts as they were directed, and not as Matters appear’d on the Evidence. Archdeacon *Echard* is of another Opinion, and the Slaughter that follow’d upon these illegal Elections of May-

or and Sheriffs, have made no manner of Impression upon him.

The *invisible Power* which directed the Wind over the King's House at *Newmarket*, when it was seiz'd by that *Providential Fire*, are Topicks well worth the Historian's Declamations, for which he had proper Materials from *L'Estrange* and the *Addressees*.

There's now no Occasion to expose the infamous Proceedings of *Judges* and *Juries*, on the pretended Discoveries of the *Ryehouse* and *Presbyterian* Plots; the very Preparations for them, by securing Sheriffs, is a good Proof of this wicked Contrivance.

I am sensible the just Fears which the best *Englishmen* lay under of approaching *Popery* and *Slavery*, did occasion Discourse to prevent it, and that some hot Men might talk of unwarrantable Methods; but so it happens, that the Men set apart for Destruction, were not the Criminals, and the Noble *Patriots* that dy'd, suffer'd unjustly: However, they were Favourers of *Liberty of Conscience*, and therefore we shall find them brought to the *Bar*, and carry'd to the *Scaffold* in Mr. *Echard's* History, without either Compassion or Charity.

If I should go about to animadvert on *L'Estrange* and *Sprat's* Account of these notable *Conspiracies*, as they are copy'd by our *Historian*, I must make Use of as many Words as he has done, to remove the Rubbish, and come at the Truth. Those Two Writers were highly extoll'd by the Faction for their several Kinds of Writing, the *Sublime* and the *Facetious*, but neither of them much spoken of for Sincerity. As to *Sprat's* Eloquence, I shall content my self with what *Bishop Burnet* says. *Sprat went farther in his Sermon into the Behalf of the Popish Plot than I did;*
but

but he insinuated his Fears of Undutifulness to the King in such a Manner, that the House of Commons did not send him Thanks, as they did to me, which raised his Merit at Court, as it increas'd the Displeasure against me. Sprat had studied a Polite Stile much, but there was little Strength in it, and he allow'd himself in much Sloth, and too many Liberties: And without such Allowance it had been impossible for him to have made so much of the Ryehouse Plot. I remember Eight or Ten Years after this Prodigious History of his, another of like Nature came from his Pen, giving an Account of a Contrivance of one Young, an Ecclesiastick, to bring him into a Plot, or get some Money out of him; upon which the World reflected, after Mr. Echard's Way, That the Fable of that feign'd Conspiracy, was a just Judgment upon him for the other Fable he wrote by Command of King Charles, which help'd a little to atone for his Panegyrick upon Cromwell.

L'Estrange, the Historian's other Original, who us'd to be call'd Oliver's Fiddler, was ever look'd upon as a loose, immoral, mercenary, foul-mouth'd Creature; a fit Instrument for the wicked Agents who employ'd him; whose Learning was Translation, his Wit Ribaldry, and his Language that of the Market. I know Mr. Echard is a Stranger to all this; and because he has borrow'd much of his Matter from him, as from the Standard of Truth and Eloquence, I shall repeat what is said of him in a Treatise of the Classics, and of Stile, written by Dr. Felton, a very Orthodox Divine:

“ He was neither an Orator, nor an Historian;
 “ his Talent was Banter and Ridicule: And how
 “ well qualify'd he was for, the Translation of
 “ Josephus, among a Thousand other Levities
 “ and low Expressions, we may judge from the

“ Character of *Herod*, who was one *that would*
 “ *keep Touch neither with God nor Man.*

Echard seems insensible of this Libeller's want of Decency and good Manners, or he would not have copy'd him so slavishly as he does. The *Fens*, indeed, are a very improper Place to refine a Man's Taste in; but he may be as honest in the Dirt, as in the *Withdrawing-Room*. The Fault therefore is genuine, and the Corruption in the *Mind*, which could not observe the Falshood and Wickedness of *L'Estrange's* Libels. He had doubtless seen the Lord *L——*'s Speech in Parliament, after the Discovery of the *Popish Plot*; but *L'Estrange* wrote against the *Presbyterians* as well as himself, and he has sunk that, together with other Speeches of the like Tendency. *Some Persons*, says his Lordship, *notwithstanding the many Evidences of the Plot, have been industrious to revile the King's Evidences.* No Man has done more so than Archdeacon *Echard*. Such a one is Roger *L'Estrange*, who now disappears, being one of the greatest Villains upon Earth: A Rogue, beyond my Skill to delineate; who has been the Bugbear of the Protestant Religion, and traduc'd the King and Kingdom's Evidence by his notorious Scribblings, and has endeavour'd as much as in him lay to eclipse the Glory of the English Nation. He is a dangerous rank Papist, prov'd by good and substantial Evidence; for which, since he has walk'd under another Disguise, he deserves of all Men to be hang'd; and I believe I shall live to see that be his Fate.

This is the Man who has furnish'd the Archdeacon with most of his *Memoirs* for the *Plots* in King *Charles the Second's* Reign. This is the Man, whom (p. 793.) he extols for his Honesty and Courage in writing bold Truths; p. 1009, for

for his *Dexterity, Quickness, Triumphs*; and preventing the Ruin of the Nation, 1051.

I have already observ'd, that one must expect to find *Rascals* in such a *Rascally* Business as Evidence, especially Capital Cases: But there was not an *Irish* Witness in the Lord *Shaftsbury's* and *Colledge's* Tryals, not *Bedlow*, nor *Dugdale*, nor *Oates*, in the *Popish* Plot, had so detestable a Character as *West* the Lawyer: He was as great a Villain in his Profession as ever practis'd; and the greatest Villain I ever heard of in my Life, was an entire Confident of his. I knew the Men, and speak from my Conscience. There's no Acrimony in this Style, but plain Historical Truth, which will appear in another Place; yet on the Evidence of this *West*, that pious and illustrious Patriot, the *belov'd* Lord *Russel* lost his most valuable Life. *West* drew up a *Narrative* to sell to the Ministers. Bishop *Burnet* read it, and says, *They were so wise at Court, that they would not suffer it to be printed; for then it would have appear'd too gross to be believ'd.* Gross as it was, it goes down with our Historian, who digests it comfortably, though the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, &c. were murder'd by it. My Lord of *Sarum* adds; "The Part of all that seem'd the
" most amazing, was, that it was to have been
" executed on the Day on which the King had
" intended to return from *Newmarket*. But the
" *happy Fire*, that sent him away a Week sooner,
" had quite defeated the *whole Plot*, while it was
" within a Week of its Execution, and neither
" *Horses, Men, nor Arms* yet provided. *Preach-*
" *ers and Poets* had here a noble Subject to en-
" large upon, and to shew how the *Two innocent*
" *Popish Brothers*, the King, and the Duke, were
" under the watchful Care of Providence, that
" preserv'd them for the Destruction of our Religion,

"Laws, and Liberties: Very consistent this with plain Reason, and common Sense.

I cannot mention my Lord *Russel's* Tryal without being touch'd with Two very different Passions, Tenderness and Indignation. Mr. *Echard* goes through it with *uncommon* Calmness, and assures us, the *Necessity of the Times was a main Reason* for murdering him. He stiles it, for the *King's being inexorable.*

Sir *John Hawles*, the Solicitor-General's Remarks on his Lordship's Tryal, prove it to be the most illegal and impudent Act of Barbarity and Injustice, which is any where remember'd. Bishop *Burnet* explains it still farther, and whatever Fortune had befall'n those that promoted the Prosecution, or those that suffer'd it to have so tragical an End, I should always with equal Reason and Justice have imputed it to *Divine Vengeance.* Bishop *Burnet*, speaking of Dr. *Tillotson* and his Conferences with his Lordship in Prison, tells us, My Lord desir'd to be excus'd as to *Politicks*, and had not *Leisure for such Discourses.* Mr. *Echard*, whose Book is very much swell'd by *Insertions*, inserts the Letter Dr. *Tillotson* wrote his Lordship about Passive Obedience. The *Historian* would not be satisfy'd with an Abridgment of it, being so delighted with the Subject. That Letter, make the most of it, is one of the weakest Pieces which ever came from that most Eloquent and Learned Prelate. The Subject would not bear more; and it is very plain 'twas given to the Iniquity of the Times. Mr. *Echard* says, it does *not appear what Effect it had*; but it does now appear, that it had no Effect at all. The Bishop of *Salisbury* informs us, my Lord *Russel* thought a Government limited by Law was only a Name, if the Subject might not maintain those Limitations by Force, otherwise all was

at the Discretion of the Prince; which was contrary to all the Notions he had liv'd in of our Government. Truth needs but few Words; and there's the whole of the Argument. What the Bishop adds of my Lord's Confession, contains as much of the Plot as is consistent with Credibility: *There was nothing among them, but the Embrio's of Things that were never like to have any Effect, and were now quite dissolv'd.* But, God be thank'd, the Conspiracy which was form'd Six Years after by Archbishop *Sancroft*, the Bishops and Clergy, the Nobility and Commonalty of *England*, in direct Opposition to *Passive Obedience*, did take Effect, and abdicated the Duke of *Tork*, when King.

I did not expect that this *Historian* would part with my Lord *Russel*, without laying a Load on his Memory. Most thought, his Speech was drawn up with more Art, than was agreeable to his Lordship's known Simplicity: Most did not think so; or that a Person of his Lordship's known Simplicity, would dye with a Lye in his Mouth. Bishop *Burnet* informs us, He offer'd to take his Oath before the King and Council, that the Speech was penn'd by my Lord *Russel* himself. *Echard* says after *Sprat*, Time had since shewn the Speech to be full of Enormous Falshoods. *Sprat*'s Character is so notorious, that I would not have blemish'd the meanest Offender upon his Authority; and if he did not heartily repent of this very wicked Calumny on this pious Peer, the Lord have Mercy upon him. Does it consist with what the *Historian* himself speaks of my Lord's Rectitude of Soul, Probity, Simplicity, Piety, &c.? Is the Hour of Death a Time for such a Mind to learn Diffimulation? What *Sprat* says, is notoriously false; and why does the *Historian* repeat it, if he did

did not approve of it? If he did, let him take his Share of the Offence.

This was a sure way to mortify the *Whigs*, to use his own Terms. *Opposition* was now *Treason*; the *Charter of London* was destroy'd by another illegal Judgment: The King made *Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs*, and Things were carry'd without *Faction Heats and Animosities*, his own Words again; and they must be interpreted, to come to *Guild-Hall*, and Poll for honest Magistrates, is *Faction Heat and Animosity*.

All the World knows that there was not the least Appearance of Law in the Tryal and Condemnation of Colonel *Sidney*. The wicked Instruments concern'd in it, Judges, Lawyers, and Juries, had shewn themselves honest Men, and every whit as merciful, if they had knock'd him on the Head at the Bar, for then the Law at least had not suffer'd with him. Colonel *Sidney* in his last Prayer, thank'd God that he was singled out to dye as a *Witness for the Old Cause, in which he engag'd himself from his Youth*. That Cause was resisting a cruel Tyrannical Administration, which we also did effectually resist in our Days; and in doing which, the Legislature justifies us in the Process and Judgment against *Sacheverel*, now universally acknowledg'd to have been a *Tool*; yet *Echard* cries out, *This was thought so enthusiastical and shocking, that his Death was much less pity'd and lamented*: By whom was it so thought, by any one Master of so much Reason and good Sense as he himself was? The Historian owns, his *Death* was more a *Murder* than any of the rest: *The Hardships he met with, were greater than any before him*. Bishop *Burnet* does not talk as he does of the *Old Cause*, but says, *These last Words furnish'd much Matter to the Scribes, who treated them as Shocking and Enthusiastical*.

fitil. Mr. Echard is in a little Extasy upon the Duke of Monmouth's surrendring himself, and corroborating the Lord Howard's Evidence about a Council of Six; one would think he was sure what he said was true, before he made such Rejoycings; for though he positively asserts it, yet I cannot trust to it, but must examine it by the Bishop of Salisbury's History: "The King said next Day that James, for so he call'd the Duke of Monmouth, had confirm'd all that Howard had sworn. This was carry'd to the Duke of Monmouth, who deny'd he had ever said any such Thing; adding, that the Lord Howard was a Liar and a Rogue. The Duke of Monmouth had made an humble Confession of his Offences in general Words, only Echard assures you he confess'd that Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead, Mr. Griffith, and all the considerable Nonconformist Ministers, knew of the Conspiracy, which are particular Words. But what then, did not Sancroft, Compton, Ken, Trelawny, Turner, &c. and almost all the Bishops and chief Clergy in England, know of the Conspiracy to deliver us from that King which Passive Obedience had impos'd upon us? for he had been excluded Eight Years before, had not the Bill been batter'd by the Artillery of both Pulpit and Press.

The Historian does not think the State Butchers have let out Blood enough; and upon Holloway's Execution tells us, He confess'd most of the Particulars that had been open'd and discover'd at the Tryal of the Persons executed before him, such as Lord Russel and Colonel Sidney. He gave a List of several Names of other Persons concern'd in the Plot. Bishop Burnet informs us, he own'd Meetings about an Insurrection, but that no Progress was ever made in it: That as to the Lopping Part, there were not above Five Persons that approv'd of it, but that West was for killing the King and Duke.

The

The Bishop adds, *Holloway* was thought by the Court not to be sincere in his Confession; and so, since what he acknowledged made himself guilty, he was executed without Tryal. At the Place of Execution, Mr. *Echard* says, he confess'd his Belief of a Plot, as is above related; and as I always believ'd, That the Tyranny and Oppression of the then Government, animated by flattering Sermons and Addresses, had provok'd the Lovers of our Constitution so much, that they would have resisted as well then, had there been any reasonable Foundation for them to have built upon, as they did a few Years after with Success and Glory. But no Progress was made in any Thing. The Bishop of *Salisbury's* Account of *Holloway's* Behaviour, will let us into the Secret of the Matter.

“ He dy'd in a firm Constancy, and shew'd
 “ great Presence of Mind. He observ'd the Partiality that was evident in managing this Plot,
 “ different from what had appear'd in managing
 “ the Popish Plot. The same Men that were
 “ call'd Rogues when they swore against Papists,
 “ were look'd on as honest Men, when they
 “ turn'd their Evidence against Protestants.

This dying Person's Observation is the same I have often made, and there is no where a more flagrant Instance of this Partiality, than in Mr. *Echard's* History of the Popish, the Ryehouse, and Presbyterian Plots. The Bishop proceeds:

“ In all his Answers to the Sheriffs, *Dashwood*
 “ and *Daniel*, who at the Place of Execution
 “ troubled him with many impertinent Questions,
 “ he answer'd them with so much Life, that it
 “ appear'd he was no ordinary Man: His Speech
 “ was suppress'd for some Days, but it broke out
 “ at last. In it he express'd a deep Sense of Religion: His Prayer was an excellent Compo-
 “ sure;

“ sure; the Credit of the *Rye Plot* receiv'd a
“ great Blow by his *Confession*.

Our Historian mentions his free *Confession* and
Narrative, but does not give the least Hint of
any *Blow* the *Ryehouse* Plot receiv'd by it. He
tells us indeed, he did not join *altogether* with
the *Church of England*, which perhaps he was not
sorry for, since they resolv'd to hang him. The
Bishop again.

“ All the Discourse about an *Insurrection*, in
“ which the Day was said to be set, appear'd now
“ to be a Fiction, since *Bristol* had been so little
“ taken Care of, that Three Persons had only
“ undertaken to dispose People to that Design,
“ but had not yet let it out to any of them.

What follows gives us a full and clear Idea of
both the pretended Conspiracies, the *Ryehouse* and
Presbyterian. They were *Embrio's* without any
Form; and what a dreadful Thing is it to hear
People profaning God's most holy Name, by cal-
ling upon him to defend them from *Plots* of their
own making, and giving him Thanks for his De-
fence; How will they be able to account for such
Mockery!

“ So that it was plain, *continues the Bishop*,
“ that after all the Story they had made of the
“ Plot, it had gone no farther, than that a Com-
“ pany of seditious inconsiderable Persons were
“ framing among themselves some treasonable
“ Schemes, that were never likely to come to
“ any Thing: And that *West* and *Rumsey* had
“ pushed on the execrable Design of the Assassi-
“ nation, in which, though there were few that
“ agreed to it, yet too many had heard of it
“ from them, who were so foolish and so wicked
“ as not to discover them.

By

By which they became guilty only of *Misprision of Treason*, but were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, as if they had been taken in Arms.

The next Sufferer was Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, whose Life had been that of a *Court-Rake*, and he had no Principle to guide him, but the natural one of *Liberty*. He was betray'd in *Holland* for Money, and being examin'd before the *Council*, said, *He knew of no Plot but the Popish Plot*, and desir'd *he might have a fair Tryal for his Life*; which was deny'd him, so he was hang'd upon an *Outlawry* not legally determin'd, as Sir *John Hawles* plainly proves. Bishop *Burnet* assures us, there was nothing against him, but his hearing the Discourses at *Shepherd's*. His Lordship adds, *By this Time the Credit of the Witnesses was so blasted, that it seems the Court was afraid that Juries would not now be so easy as they had been.* Mr. *Echard* is not of this Opinion, and will by no Means allow, that the Credit of the Witnesses was or cou'd be *blasted*, or that the Juries had been too *easy*. I have made use of the low Terms, *Butchers and Butcheries*, as suiting exactly with the bloody Characters of the Statesmen and their Instruments in these Times. I shall add this other Proof of their deserving them, from the Bishop of *Salisbury*: When *Armstrong* insisted that he ask'd nothing *but the Law*, *Jefferies* in his brutal way said, he should have it to the Full, and so order'd his Execution in Six Days.

What distinguishes the Christian Religion in the most particular Manner from all others, are the Sentiments of Love, Union, and Charity, with which it inspires every enlighten'd Mind. Where do these Divine Sentiments appear in our *Historian's* Treatment of Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, when the Hangman had him in Hand, and is about to murder him? *He was the less pity'd, be-*
cause

cause his Hands had been before defil'd with Blood in a *Duel*; which in another Man would have been a Gallant Action. I abhor such Gallantry, and do not urge it to extenuate Sir *Thomas Armstrong's* Guilt, but to let the Reader see how unreasonable that hard Reflection is made, and how inhuman and absurd the following one is; He was executed at Tyburn, on Friday the 20th of June, which was observ'd to be the same Day of the same Month, and the same Day of the Week on which the Five Jesuits were executed in the same Manner, in the same Place, just Five Years before. The Wit of which, some of the smartest in the Book, consists in Five Sames, and Two Fives; and sure so many Sames were never us'd to the same bad Purpose, to insinuate another Instance of Divine Vengeance, in the illegal Punishment of *Armstrong* for the *Presbyterian Plot*. Poor dying *Holloway* bore his Testimony against this very same Partiality. How unfair as well as foolish would the Author think me, if I should say his History was publish'd on Friday, the same Day of the same Month, and the same Day of the Week on which the *Oxford Decree*, containing the same Bigotry, and the same Bitterness, was burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

I cannot, with our *Historian*, speak much in Praise of the *Peaceable Times* in the Year 1684, when, besides the *Butcheries* before-mention'd, there was nothing heard of in our Streets, but Persecution and Complaint on one Side, and Insolence and Riot on the other; neither can I, with him, exaggerate the Advantages of King *Charles's* Standing Army, unless his subduing the City of London be allow'd to be one.

U

I have

I have gone through this inactive inglorious Reign. What Activity there was in it, was exerted against our Protestant Allies the *Dutch*, and Protestant Brethren the Dissenters. Our Counsels were such, as render'd us the Contempt of all the Nations around us; and there was nothing but Fear and Jealousy among our selves. Bishop *Burnet* has given us the Character of King *Charles* the Second at Large, and I take it to be one of the most like and disagreeable Pictures that ever was drawn. The Earl of *Mulgrave*, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, confirms almost every Part of it in his Character, printed by Mr. *Echard*; and what Reason the smaller Clergy had to adore him as a Religious Orthodox Prince of ever blessed Memory, may be seen by what the Bishop and the Earl write of him, to which I refer.

Books for this Period.

Philip's History.

Sir William Temple's Memoirs.

History of the Treaty of Nimeguen.

Bishop Burnet's History.

State Tracts.

C H A P.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Reign of King James II.

I Now draw near the end of my long and ungrateful Work. In the History of this Prince, the *Tyranny* affects the Church of *England*, as well as the Dissenters. And indeed the latter had least Reason to complain.

The *Historian* and I shall agree pretty well, when we have routed *Monmouth*, and put a stop to the violent Proceedings against *Nonconformists*. So long as King *James* continues them, he has very rarely an unkind Word for him, but when they are over, we both speak in the same Tone.

To pursue my Method, I shall take the History of this Reign out of that of a *Standing Army*, from whence I took the Histories of the Three preceding Kings. The Reader will soon be convinc'd, that our *Historian* had never fallen out with King *James*, if he had never fallen out with the *Church*; and that his Attempts to destroy our Liberties, would otherwise have been as tenderly touch'd by him, as King *Charles* the Second's, if he had let the *Clergy* alone.

“As soon as King *James* came to the Crown,
 “he seiz'd the Customs and Excise without Au-
 “thority of Parliament. He pick'd out the *Scum*
 “and Scandals of the Law, to make Judges up-
 “on the Bench, and turn'd out all that would
 “not sacrifice their Oaths to his Ambition, by
 “which he discharg'd the Lords out of the
 “*Tower*, inflicted those barbarous Punishments
 “on Mr. *Johnson*, *Dangerfield*, and butcher'd ma-

“ ny Hundreds of Men in the *West*, after they
 “ had been trepann’d into a Confession by Pro-
 “ mise of Pardon; murder’d *Cornish*, &c.

So far we shall find the *King* and the *Historian* in perfect Harmony, he will not quarrel with him for Two or Three Hangings and Whippings, as he blames *Cromwell* for quarrelling about Three or Four *Bats*, meaning *Dr. Leighton*, *Dr. Bastwick*, *Mr. Prynne*, and *Mr. Burton*, Men of Character, and by no Means equal to such Insolence. Again,

“ King *James* turn’d the Fellows of *Magda-*
 “ *len* College out of their Freeholds, to make
 “ way for a Seminary of Priests; and hang’d
 “ Soldiers for running from their Colours, as in
 “ Time of War. He erected the *Ecclesiastical*
 “ *Commission*, suspended the Bishop of *London*, be-
 “ cause he would not inflict the same Punishment
 “ upon *Dr. Sharp*, &c.

I need repeat no more, his whole Reign being a confess’d Series of Tyranny, especially the following Part of it, in which the *Historian* will join with me, though he has some Reasons why he will not do it as yet: The chief one I take to be, that as yet the Dissenters are treated as the inferior Clergy would have them.

Mr. Echard prints the Addresses at large, which compliment the King upon his seizing the *Customs*; and tells you, that from the *Temple* was drawn up by *Sir Bartholomew Shower*, Brother to *John Shower*, the Presbyterian Minister, and presented by a Knight of like Fame, especially in the House of Commons, *Sir Humphry Mackworth*, accompany’d by a Noble Train of Lawyers, and introduc’d by his Grace the Duke of *Beaufort*: for which his Grace deserves no more Glory than a Place in his History can give him. Out of which I must borrow a very large Paragraph.

“ There’s

“ There’s one thing said about this Coronation,
 “ and another Coronation that has been too often
 “ quoted; *Observe how positive he is, and yet I*
 “ *am about to quote it again,* “ and believ’d of late,
 “ and now not to be forgotten; and this was in
 “ a Speech spoken by the Lord Chief Baron *At-*
 “ *kins* to Sir *William Ashburt* when he was sworn
 “ Lord Mayor; giving several Instances of the
 “ arbitrary Designs of the late Kings of England,
 “ he brings this for one: *The striking out of that*
 “ *Part of the ancient Oath in King Charles the*
 “ *First’s Time, at his Coronation by Archbishop*
 “ *Laud* (that the King should consent to such
 “ Laws as the People should chuse) and *instead*
 “ *of that another very useful one inserted, Saving*
 “ *the King’s Royal Prerogative.* After which he
 “ goes on and says, *I could tell you something more*
 “ *of that Kind done since at the Time of the CORO-*
 “ *NATION of the late King JAMES, when there*
 “ *was much more struck out of the Coronation Oath,*
 “ *which might be well worth the enquiring how it*
 “ *came about.* Now the former is nothing but
 “ an old Calumny reviv’d, which hath been to-
 “ tally refuted and disprov’d both by the said
 “ King himself in his Declaration, and in many
 “ other Writers.

Here he charges the Lord Chief Baron with
 calumniating Archbishop *Laud* in a Court of Ju-
 stice, and positively affirms that the Charge has
 been *totally refuted and disprov’d*: To the contrary
 of which I do as positively affirm, that it has not
 been at all *refuted and disprov’d*: But only deny’d
 by those that have deny’d every Thing laid to
 their Charge; they having but one way of *pro-*
ving, and that is by *Affertion*; and but one Way
 of *vindicating*, which is by *Denial*. He goes on:
 “ But for the latter we have not had an Op-
 “ portunity to examine into the Bottom of it;

as if he had always been very cautious how he affirm'd any Thing, and fully examin'd into it, as the King and Council did into the Affair of the Sheriffs, when they sent for 'em to throw 'em into Gaol for doing their Duty.

" I look upon it a design'd Asperſion by my Lord Chief Baron upon Archbishop Sancroft; only we may say thus much, that where a known Falſity is join'd with a great Improbability, the latter may as well be ſuppos'd a Miſtake, as the former is ſo without Doubt or Queſtion.

Here's Truth and Sincerity for you! The Fact of *Laud's* dealing thus with the Coronation Oath, is really without Doubt or Queſtion; and one of the Proofs that it is ſo, is its being deny'd in the King's Declaration. The *Improbability* he talks of, is alſo downright Fact, as we ſhall ſhew preſently. This he turns off with his uſual grand Air, *We have not had Opportunity to examine into the Bottom*; and truly his Opportunities of that Kind, or his Diſpoſition to make uſe of them, have been wanting to a Scandal. If he had but look'd into *Sandford's* Account of King *James* the Second's Coronation, he would have ſeen how the Oath was corrupted, and how it differs from the ancient one. I have them both before me.

The ancient Oath at the
King's Coronation.

King *James* the Second's
Coronation Oath.

Sire, Voles vous gran-
ter & garder & par ve-
ſtre ſerement confirmer au
Peuple Dengleterre les
Leys & les Cuſtumes a
eux grantes per les aun-
ciens Rois Dengleterre
vos Predeceſſors, droitus
&

Sir, Will you grant
and keep, and by your
Oath confirm to the
People of *England* the
Laws and Cuſtoms to
them granted by the
Kings of *England*, your
Lawful and Religious
Pre-

Et devotz a Dieu ; Et no-
mement les Leys, les Cu-
stumes, Et les Franchises
grantex au Clerge Et au
People par le glorieuse
Roy St. Edward vestre
Predecessor.

Predecessors ; and name-
ly, the Laws, Customs,
and Franchises grant-
ed to the Clergy by the
Glorious King St. Ed-
ward, your Predeces-
sor?

ADDED:

*According to the Laws
of God, the true Professi-
on of the Gospel establis'd
in this Kingdom, and a-
greeing to the PRERO-
GATIVE of the Kings
thereof, &c.*

What Opinion must the Reader have of our
Author's Candor and Judgment! What will he
see here but Misrepresentation, and a violent At-
tachment to the Bigotry of his two Archbishops?
I dare not palm Things upon the World for
Truths on my own Authority, and therefore shall
make use of a Paragraph or two out of the Se-
cond Volume of *State Tracts*, p. 94. The Wri-
ter is upon this Subject, Bishop *Sancroft's* alter-
ing the Oath for King *James*. "They who ad-
minister'd the Coronation-Oath to the late
King, left out the Provision in the ancient
Oath for the People's enjoying St. *Edward's*
Laws; being only concern'd for the Church,
according to what others have very lately de-
clar'd. They us'd a special Clause, added to
the old Coronation-Oath; by Virtue of which
new Clause, the King is bound, not only to
defend the Bishops and Churches under their
Government, where they divide the National
U 4 " Church

“ Church into as many Cantons as there are Bi-
 “ shopricks; but he is forsworn, if he does not
 “ preserve and maintain to them all Canonical
 “ Privileges: And if this be taken according to
 “ the former Part, where the King is oblig’d to
 “ maintain *St. Edward’s* Concessions to the Church,
 “ ’tis a Question how a *Protestant* King of this
 “ Realm could keep his Oath. That which gives
 “ Countenance to *Popish* Church Privileges, is re-
 “ quir’d of a *Popish* King without any Reserve;
 “ but the other which should secure Civil Rights,
 “ has a *Salvo* for *Prerogative*.

Archbishop *Saucroft*, from whom he wipes all
Aspersions, was at the Head of the *Persecutions* in
 King *Charles* and King *James’s* Reigns, till he
 himself was *persecuted*. He was the chief Pro-
 moter of *Passive Obedience*, till he thought con-
 venient to *resist* that King, and turn out his Go-
 vernor of the *Tower*. He fill’d the Churches with
 a Clergy, who stuck at nothing to advance the
 King’s and their own *Arbitrary Power*, and to
 ruin Protestant Dissenters: But being imprison’d
 for *Disobedience*, he became guilty of a more gross
 Act of Rebellion than ever was my Lord *Russel*.
 He invited the Prince of *Orange* to make War
 against King *James*; and himself in Person took
 the Keys of the *Tower* from King *James’s* Gover-
 nor, as I just now hinted, and gave them to my
 Lord *Lucas*. But calling to mind what he had
 said and done for *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Re-*
sistance, or being afraid the *Revolution* would not
 stand long upon its Legs, he refus’d to take the
 Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, left his
 Bishoprick, and dy’d in Retirement; more to be
 commended for his peaceable Behaviour there,
 than for deserting a Cause he had so vigorously and
 successfully espous’d.

I can-

I cannot enter upon his Account of Oates's Tryal without Horror. His justifying the diabolical Cruelty that unfortunate Man met with, is too shocking for Reflection. *A dismal and piteous Spectacle to the People!* His own Words; but then he sooths up the Matter; *who could much better judge of his Punishment, than his Crimes;* that is, who could see his gaping Wounds, and bear his hideous Bellowings, but could not be sensible how much he deserv'd them. Good God! What is the Religion, what the Humanity of the Country, where such bloody Acts of Tyranny could be done, and afterwards approv'd of by those very Men that should teach us Charity and Love! I must fly from the Horror it gives me, to the Laws and the Lords for Relief, and there I am sure to find it. Sir John Holt, Sir Henry Pollexfen, Lords Chief-Justices, the Lord Chief-Baron Atkins, and Six Judges more, being all that were then in the House, declar'd to that August Assembly, *That the Judgments against Titus Oates were contrary to Law and ancient Practice, and therefore erroneous, and ought to be revers'd.* But the Vote to reverse them not passing, a Protest was enter'd by several Noble Lords; one of which was,

“ That the said Judgments are barbarously in-
 “ human and unchristian; and that there's no
 “ Precedent to warrant the Punishment of *Whip-*
 “ *ping*, and committing to Prison for Life for
 “ the Crime of Perjury; which yet was but one
 “ Part of the Punishments that were inflicted
 “ upon him.

Sign'd,

Bolton,	Vaughan,	Oxford,
Macclesfield,	Stamford,	Bath,
Bridgwater,	Grey,	R. Eure,
Bolingbroke,	Cornwallis,	P. Wharton.
Herbert.		

Now

Now let the Reader turn to Mr. *Echard*: For my part I must leave him, and cannot go along with him at the Cart's Tail, and be a calm Spectator of those devilish Scourgings from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. He says, there were *Reasons* and *Pro-vocations* for the illegal Sentence against the Reverend Mr. *Baxter*; and then gives a List of *Parliament-Men* in the House of *Commons*, which met in the First Year of King *James*. We can't imagine how it came into the Author's Head to tell us, they were the *Richest* and *Wiseest* Men of the Kingdom. No body had ever charg'd them with Want of *Wisdom* or *Wealth*.

Probably he had heard, that the last *Westminster* and *Oxford* Parliaments were said to be Gentlemen of the best Families, Interest, and Credit in *England*; and this House of *Commons* being for the most of his prevailing Party, he resolv'd they should not give way an Inch to the others that sat before them. However, since he will needs have us read over the List of the *Rich* and the *Wise*, let us see what he will make of it.

More Rich and Wise
For London. Members.

Sir John Moore.	Sir Roger L'Estrange.
Sir Peter Rich.	Sir Thomas Jenner.
Sir William Pritchard.	Mr. Theoph. Oglethorp.
Sir Sam. Dashwood.	Mr. Richard Graham.
	Dr. Charles D'Avenant.
For Cambridge Univer.	Mr. James St. Amand.
Sir Thomas Exton.	Sir Thomas Higgons.
Robert Brady, M. D.	Mr. John Walker.
	Sir James Butler.
For Oxford University.	Sir Robert Holmes.
Sir Leoline Jenkins.	Mr. Robert Foley.
Charles Perrot, L.L. D.	Sir Tho. Bludworth, &c.

We had doubtless never heard of their Wisdom and Riches, if he had not been *captivated* with the Vote of the *Committee of Religion*, to address the King to *cause the Penal Laws to be put in Execution against Dissenters*. But, as well as he wish'd to it, the Vote did not pass, and he had not his Humour as he might have expected. *It must have prov'd fatal to them*, says he, upon Account of *new Provocations*. He means *Argyle's Expedition in Scotland*, to whom he joins all the Dissenters in *England*.

The Rebellions in *England* and *Scotland* being suppress'd, *Jefferies* and *Kirk* were sent into the *West*, to give fresh Instances of King *James's* revengeful and sanguinary Temper. For, the Reader must not mind what Mr. *Echard* copies from a *French Jesuit*. His Majesty was inform'd of these Disorders too late; and as soon as it came to his Ears, he express'd his Displeasure. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, on the same Occasion, writes thus: *What brought all Jefferies's Excesses to be imputed to the King, was, that the King had a particular Account of all his Proceedings writ to him every Day; and he took particular Pleasure to relate them in the Drawing-Room to Foreign Ministers, and at his Table, calling it Jefferies's Campaign; speaking of all he had done in a Stile that neither became the Majesty, nor the Mercifulness of a great Prince.* Monsieur *Dickvelt*, the *Dutch Ambassador*, told his Lordship, he wonder'd to see the King break out into these Indecencies. Quite contrary again to which and the Truth, *Echard* says, after the *French Jesuit*, he knew not of *Jefferies's Disorders* till too late, and then express'd his Displeasure.

We have spoken of Mr. *Cornish* in the preceding Pages: He was a zealous Man against *Poper*y, and had given the Court Offence by his Zeal

as a *Sheriff*, and *Alderman* of *London*: Though he suffer'd upon wretched Evidence, as the Historian words it: *It is not*, continues he, *to be forgotten, what Encouragement he gave to such Sort of Evidence in the Popish Plot, and how active he appear'd in the shedding the Blood of the Popish Lord Stafford; he now met with a full Retaliation; God forgive what follows! Perhaps more from Heaven, than from Men.* My Lord of *Sarum* informs us, "He was seiz'd on, try'd, and executed within the Week. If he had got a little Time, the Falshood of the Evidence would have been prov'd from *Rumsey's* former Deposition, which appear'd so clearly soon after *Cornish's* Death, that his Estate was restor'd to his Family, and the Witnesses were lodg'd in remote Prisons for their Lives. His Lordship then tells us, that *Pen* said to him, the King was *hurried on by Jefferies*. To this the Learned Prelate subjoins; "If his own Inclination had not biassed that way, and if his Priests had not thought it the Interest of the Party to let that *Butcher* loose, by which so many that were like to oppose them were put out of the way; it is not to be imagin'd, that there would have been such a Run of barbarous Cruelty, and that in so many Instances.

Here the Reader observes, that as low as the Term *Butcher* is, 'tis the only one proper to the Character of King *James's* Agents, and the Historian's Heroes.

The Character of this corrupt and cruel Judge, *Jefferies*, is too monstrous; and I shall only observe, that by his Injustice, Cruelty, and Corruption, he has render'd it so detestable, that there is not in History a Name so infamous as that of *Jefferies*.

After these and many other *Butcheries*, the Historian expatiates on the King's *Happy Condition*, in the *greatest Height of Splendor*, and promising a *firm and settled Felicity*. Are these the Sentiments of a Christian, a Protestant, and a Preacher? Could he be in a *Happy Condition*, who had so much innocent Blood to answer for? Or, under such Guilt, could he promise himself a firm and settled Felicity? The Historian has wasted all the Bolts of *Divine Vengeance* on the Assertors of *Liberty*, and has none to spare, when the Cry for it is so just and so loud. But, Thanks be to God, those dreadful Bolts are not in his Arm; and the Criminals whom he has clear'd, are the surest Marks for them.

In the Beginning of the Year 1686, the Historian tells us, "The King being now in Effect got to the highest of his Power, his Parliament not sitting, his Standing-Forces increasing, and his Revenues sufficient to maintain them; he began more openly to shew his Resolution of encouraging and establishing his own Religion, and to assume a more arbitrary Power. But he had been a bitter *Persecutor* of Protestant Dissenters, by his Tools and Creatures; and therefore the *Historian* will not let him all at once, from an *Angel of Light*, be turn'd into a *Spirit of Darknes*. The Excuse for him is, *He was hurried on more by the treacherous Advice of others, than his own private Inclinations*; which he that said it does not believe, and so it needs no Remark.

The next Year, the King declar'd in Council his Intention to give *Liberty of Conscience* to Dissenters. He made a Speech to them so *Specious and Plausible*, says Mr. Echard, that it met with no Opposition; *The Council was so fitted to the King's Will, or so blinded by Ambition and Interest.*

terest. You see how this *Toleration* has alter'd him on a sudden; and without that, I question not, both the King and *Jefferies* would have had his good Word to the last. He adds, the *Dissenters caught greedily at the Bait, without discerning the Hook*; a Reflection, which I my self, though no Dissenter, do know to be false in Fact.

I was at that Time with an Uncle in London, a *Presbyterian*, and one of the most eminent Merchants and Magistrates in the City; to whose Table came often the Chief Ministers of that and other Persuasions; and I very well remember, this *Toleration* was the Subject of frequent Discourse: The Substance of which was, that though they were satisfy'd with the Use of it, they doubted not of the King's ill Intent in it, to play *Protestant* against *Protestant*, that by weakening them, he might strengthen the Popist Interest. Mr. *Echard* has clear'd the *Dissenters* in the next Page, by a very long Quotation out of Dr. *Calamy's Baxter's Life*; though he will not name either the Doctor, or the Book: *As thankful as they were for this Ease and Liberty, they were yet fearful of the Issue.*

Bishop *Burnet* writes of it thus: "It was hop'd
" at Court, that this Fury against the Church,
" would have animated the *Dissenters* to turn up-
" on the Clergy; but if a few did, they were dis-
" own'd by the wiser Men among them. The
" King made the Cruelty of the Church of En-
" gland the common Subject of his Discourse:
" He reproach'd them with setting on so often a
" violent Persecution of the *Dissenters*; and said,
" he intended this Liberty sooner, but was re-
" strain'd by some of them.

That

That many of the Dissenters thank'd the King in Addresses, and some in *Pathetick* Terms, must be confess'd; but the Bishop of *Salisbury* informs us, The Bishops that were gain'd by the Court, carried their Compliance to a *shameless Pitch*, for they set on Addresses of Thanks to the King, for the Promise he had made in the late Declaration of maintaining the Church of England, though it was visible that the Intent of that was to destroy it.

There being no more Persecutions going forward, the *Historian* and I shall agree better for the future; but it will be a hard Matter for him to forget the Glories and Triumphs of those happy Days, when all the Authority and Power of the Government were exercis'd against the innocent and patient Dissenters, when they were plunder'd, imprison'd, and driven from their dear Native Country, to the Desarts of *America*.

As I have taken Notice of him where he offends against *Charity* and Historical Truth, so I shall do the same when he speaks well of our present happy Constitution, or the Steps taken to recover it; and particularly when he sets about exposing the *Imposture* of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. The Stories and Reports about the miraculous Conception, increas'd the Suspensions of the Protestant Party, who began to recollect former Accounts of Cheats and Impostures. They heard that a like Deceit was attempted in the Reign of Queen Mary, when to relieve themselves from the Fears of a Protestant Princess, the Romish Priests gave out the Queen was with Child. The Remembrance of that former Fact gave now a natural Application. Again,

The Old Accounts of Impostures, join'd with the FABULOUS STORIES of the Cause of the Queen's Conception, after she had been several Years Childless; the great Care the Jesuits took to insinuate that

that she would certainly be deliver'd of a Prince; and several other concurring Accidents, had a mighty Influence on the Minds of the Protestants, who began to look upon the whole as a Supposition.

His Account of the Birth afterwards, is a Confirmation of its being a Supposition, which is now more fully confirm'd by Bishop Burnet's History and Remarks. Indeed there's no Incident in Story, which carries with it so many Signs of Imposture; and it must be absurd to think otherwise, when of a Hundred Circumstances, there is not one without it.

So far from Partiality am I, that as often as I meet with any thing in this Author's History which agrees with good English Principles, and Truth, I am fond of repeating it, and always give him the Glory.

The noble Stand made by the Protestant Divines whom he names, Tillotson, Tennison, Stillingfleet, Wake, Sherlock, is what we remember with the greatest Veneration and Gratitude; and we are not to learn from him that there are now, and always have been in our Church the most zealous and most able Champions of the Reformation: That our Divines have been, and are equally famous for their Piety, Learning, and Abilities; for their Charity, Humility, and Pastoral Care; for their Courage and Constancy: The Reverend Bench of Bishops, and the Names only of the London Clergy, sufficiently prove this Assertion; and though Endeavours will be us'd to make this Work pass for a design'd Attempt against the Clergy, yet, as I have often done, I do now declare the Historian himself has not more Respect for his own Gown and Habit, to use his own Terms, than I have when worn by such Men as

he has nam'd, and I could name, were there Occasion for it. The Offence that has been given comes not from that Quarter. The Rural and Inferior Clergy have in all Times occasion'd the Complaint. The Illiterate, Ignorant, and Immoral, Pragmatical and Persecuting *Priesthood* have only cry'd out, that the *Church was in Danger*, though she never was in any, but what they themselves brought her into by their Principles and Practices. As for Books for this Reign, there are enough to form a *Library*, or rather to make a *Bonfire*: Histories, Lives, Collections, Pamphlets, Gazettes, Mercuries, Intelligencers, Registers, Weekly and Daily Papers and Journals, &c. I cannot say there's any Regular History, and besides, the Facts are pretty much in Remembrance. These following will serve, 'till a History is given us form'd with Art and Judgment, and writ with Candour and Care.

Burnet's *History*.

Baxter's *Life*.

State Tracts.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Church History of England, from the Reformation to the Revolution.

I Have but a Word or two to add upon this Subject, which is treated of occasionally with the other Events during this Period. For the Church and State have been inseparable, and much of the Disturbance which has happen'd to the lat-

ter, and much of the Action in the Four last Reigns have had Reference to the former.

'Tis the general Opinion of the common People of our Church, that there is no other Protestant Church in the World; but that all *Christianity* besides is made up of *Papists* and *Schismatics*. This is zealously inculcated by the Inferior Clergy, and I have the Charity to think many of them are so ignorant as to know no better, and to believe it.

Upon this Foot it is, that the Kirk of *Scotland*, the Churches of *Holland*, *Germany*, *Geneva*, *Switzerland*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Transylvania*, the *Hugonots*, &c. consisting of many Millions of Souls more than we have in *England*, are either entirely unknown to them, or abhorr'd, as in *Schism*.

Upon this Foot it is, that the Word *Orthodox* is monopoliz'd, and has Relation only to the *Christians* in *England*, who have the Benefit of the *Establishment*. By which *Establishment* the Clergy have many temporal *Emoluments*, which are made a Part of the *Church*, and consequently not to be separated without *Sacrilege*.

It is no wonder therefore, that there has been great Opposition to any *Schemes*, which would lessen those *Emoluments* either in Revenue, or Dignity. No wonder that Men, who have had these *Temporals* most at heart, have been jealous of losing them, and earnest in their Endeavour to maintain them; which has occasion'd those Rigors and Severities, that their Opponents call *Persecution*.

At other Times, when the Heads of the Church have been Men of Virtue and Temper, as it has frequently happen'd, they have treated Men of different Sentiments in indifferent Things as their *Protestant* Brethren; and to them have

been owing those Intervals of *Peace* with which this Nation has been bless'd ; and to the others, all the Confusions, Tumults, Wars, Blood, and Devastation, which in several Periods have overwhelm'd it.

We have seen what a Farce was acted by King *James* the First at *Hampton-Court*, under Pretence of a *Colloquy* ; whereas his true Design was to shew his Affectation of Reading, and his Aversion to the *Puritans*.

I have all along avoided to enter into the Controversy between the *Church* of *England* and the *Dissenters*. I am my self satisfy'd in the Establishment ; and have neither Learning, nor Argument enough to satisfy the *Dissenters*. I regard Both, as they are Parts of the Whole, as they are *Englishmen* and *Protestants* ; and have endeavour'd to distinguish those Events that have really been religious, from those that have been pretended only. Any Measures defil'd with Injustice and Cruelty, must be Pretences only to Religion ; such Archbishop *Whitgift's* and *Banroft's*, in King *James* the First's Reign ; such *Laud's*, *Wren's*, *Peirse's*, *Lyndsel's*, &c. in that of *Charles* the First ; such *Sheldon's*, *Morley's*, *Cosins's*, *Mew's*, *Ward's*, *Ken's*, such indeed the Measures of almost all the Dignify'd Clergy in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, 'till themselves began to feel the Weight of Despotick Power under his Brother, and were no sooner touch'd than they cry'd out, as they had very good Reason to do.

I have met with many that have asserted the *Infallibility* of our Church as much as ever the Pope's was, and with great Vehemence have pretended to prove its Perfection in every Article. Such Arguments cannot make much Impression, and so I have forgot them ; but I have lately read
 X 2 what

what Archbishop *Leighton* thought of them. *Burn.*
Hist. p. 589.

“ He was large in Point of Opinion, and spoke
“ of the Corruption of the Secular Spirit, and
“ of the Cruelty that appear’d in the *Church*, with
“ an extraordinary Concern. He lamented the
“ shameful Advances that we seem’d to be ma-
“ king towards *Popery*. He did this with a Ten-
“ derness and an Edge, says *Bishop Burnet*, that
“ I did not expect from so recluse and mortify’d
“ a Man. He look’d on the State the Church of
“ *England* was in with very melancholy Reflecti-
“ ons, and was very uneasy at an Expression then
“ very much used, *That it was the best constituti-*
“ *on’d Church in the World*. He thought it was
“ truly so with relation to the Doctrine, the
“ Worship, and the main Part of our Govern-
“ ment ; but as to the Administration with rela-
“ tion both to the *Ecclesiastical Courts* and the
“ Pastoral Care, he look’d on it as one of the
“ most corrupt he had ever seen. He thought
“ we look’d like a fair Carcase of a Body with-
“ out that Zeal, that Strictness of Life, and
“ that Labouriousness in the Clergy that became
“ us.

In the Times of *Popery* it self those odious
Spiritual Courts were often complain’d of, as the
greatest Grievance the People groan’d under ; and
indeed considering to whose Judgment, to whose
Mercy, to whose Consciences and Humanity such
as are prosecuted in them are referr’d ; ’tis ama-
zing there is still any Cause of such Complaint,
or that Courts should preserve the Name of *Spiri-*
tual, where the Ministers of them are so corrupt
and vicious.

’Tis true, in the present Glorious Reign there
is less Cause of Complaint in all the Branches of
the Administration, than has been since the Re-
formation.

formation. The watchful Care of the Government to prevent Oppression, and the Discountenance all Kinds of Persecution meet with, have given a Check to those vexatious and ruinous Processes, and one Time or other they may be no more heard of.

I shall conclude all with observing, That since the *Hierarchy* is in full Possession of all the Rights and Prerogatives of the *Etablissement*; since the Dissenters are in as full Possession of the *Toleration*, which now also is by Law *establis'd*, I see no Reason on both Sides for Uneasiness and Murmurings, but much for Union and Thankfulness.

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...to prevent ... and the ...
...of ... will ...
...in those ... and ...
...and ... they may be ...

I shall conclude all with observing, that ...
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...on both sides for ...
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In this *History* the Facts will appear in their natural Light, without false Glosses and Misrepresentations, which have chang'd the very Nature of them, in the *History of the Rebellion*, and the Archdeacon's *History*.

This *Period* is the most important to us, and our Posterity, of any Part of our Chronicles. It contains the Origin of the Design to destroy our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties, Rights and Properties; the Progress that was made in it, the brave Opposition that it met with in all those Reigns, and its utter Overthrow at the REVOLUTION. The Method is in Imitation of that of *Thucydides*, where there is one great Action, the *Peloponnesian War*, begun, continu'd, and ended, and a very instructive Lesson left to Posterity to avoid Civil Discord, which was so ruinous to the States of *Greece*. The Lesson by our History is to teach *Englishmen* to guard against the fatal Principles and Practices which brought this Nation to the Brink of Ruin in the Reigns we are writing of; and to confirm them in those good Principles and good Practices which deliver'd it at the REVOLUTION.

What Histories of *England* have hitherto appear'd are immethodical Collections, Diaries, Lives, Pamph-

Pamphlets and News Books, without proper Connection. The Earl of *Clarendon's* and Mr. *Echard's* were publish'd with a manifest Intention to bring Disgrace on that Glorious REVOLUTION which is the Foundation of our present happy Establishment, and which, in a word, is the true Constitution of *England*.

THIS Work will contain about Two Hundred Sheets in FOLIO, on very good Paper and Letter, and besides the common Memoirs, will be furnish'd with Matter from several authentick Manuscripts, Informations, and Printed Papers, not yet made use of in any Histories of those Reigns: Particularly several Original Letters from King *Charles II.* the Duke of *York*, the Princess of *Orange*, the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Earl of *St. Albans*, &c. relating to the Transactions of this King and his Ministers at the Time of his Exile. The procuring these and several other Original Manuscripts of very great Importance, having taken up more Time than was expected, it is hoped the Subscribers will extend their Patience so long, and the Author doubts not of giving them Satisfaction for it, when the History is publish'd. If any Gentlemen have any well-attested MSS. or Informations relating to Transactions within this Period, and will transmit them to the Bookseller hereafter mention'd to be communicated to the Author, a proper Use will be made of them, with due Acknowledgment, provided they be received within Six Months after the Date of these Proposals.

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A N
E S S A Y
O N
CRITICISM;

As it regards
Design, Thought, and Expression,
In PROSE and VERSE.

*By the AUTHOR of the Critical
History of ENGLAND.*

K

L O N D O N:
Printed for J. PEMBERTON, at the *Golden-
Buck in Fleet-Street.*
M D C C X X V I I I.

ESSAYS

CRITICAL

As it regards

Design, Thought, and Expression,

In Prose and Verse.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE CRITICAL
EDITION OF HENRY



LONDON:

Printed for J. PIERCE, at the Golden

Ball in Fleet Street.

MDCCLXXIII.



A N
E S S A Y
O N
C R I T I C I S M ;

As it regards

*Design, Thought, and Expression,
in Prose and Verse.*



AM very far from any Conceit of my own Ability, to treat of so nice a Subject as this, in a Manner worthy of it ; but having frequently observed what Errors have been committed by both Writers and Readers for want of a right Judgement, I could not help collecting some loose Hints I had by me, and putting them into a little Form, to shew rather what I would do than what I can do ; and to excite some happier Genius, to give us better Lights than we have hitherto been led by, which is said with great Sincerity, and without the least Mixture of Vanity or Affectation.

B

I shall

An Essay on Criticism.

I shall not, in this *Essay*, enter into the philosophical Part of Criticism which *Corneille* complains of, and that *Aristotle* and his Commentators have treated of Poetry, rather as *Philosophers* than *Poets*. I shall not attempt to give Reasons why Thoughts are *sublime, noble, delicate, agreeable*, and the like, but content my self with producing Examples of every Kind of right Thinking, and leave it to Authors of more Capacity and Leisure, to treat the Matter a *Fond*, and teach us to imitate our selves what we admire in others.

Aristotle, Horace, Bossu, Boileau, Dacier, and several other Criticks, have directed us right in the Rules of Epick and Dramatick Poetry, and *Rapin* has done the same as to *History*, and other Parts of polite Learning. Several Attempts have been made in *England* to instruct us, as well as the *French* have been instructed; but far from striking out any new Lights, our *Essays* are infinitely short of the Criticisms of our Neighbours. They teach us nothing which is not to be found there, and give us what they take thence curtailed and imperfect. 'Tis true, they have drest up their Rules in Verse, and have succeeded in it very well. There is something so just and beautiful in my Lord *Roscommon's* Essay and Translation of *Horace's Ars Poetica*, as excels any Thing in *French* within the like Compass. I have read the late Duke of *Buckingham's* Essay very often, but I don't think it such a perfect Piece as *Dryden* represents it, in his long and tedious Dedication to that noble Lord before the *Aeneis*. There are many Things very well thought in it, and they do not seem to be much the better for the Poetry; which is so prosaick, that if the Rhimes were pared away, it would be reduced to downright Prose. Indeed *Horace's* Epistle to the *Piso's* is not much more poetick; and I do not think, that the modern Criticks, like the Oracles of Old, give the greater Sanction to their Rules, for that they are put into Rhime.

I dare not say any Thing of the last *Essay* on Criticism in Verse, but that if any more curious Reader has discovered in it something new, which is not in *Dryden's Prefaces, Dedications*, and his *Essay on Dramatick Poetry*, not to mention the *French* Criticks, I should be very glad to have the Benefit of the Discovery.

I was

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I was strangely surpris'd to meet with such a Passage, as what follows, in the Writings of so good an Author as Sir Robert Howard. *Preface to Duke of Lerma*: "In the Difference of Tragedy and Comedy, there can be no Determination but by the *Taste*; and who-ever would endeavour to like or dislike by the Rules of others, he will be as unsuccessful as if he should try to be perswaded into a Power of believing, not what he must, but what others direct him to believe."

Thus are *Aristotle*, *Horace*, and all that have commented on them; thus are *Boileau*, the Lord *Roscommon*, the Duke of *Bucks*, and all the modern Criticks, confounded with a Word or two, and the Rules of Writing rendered useless and ridiculous.

The Rules laid down by those great Criticks are not to be valu'd, because they are given by *Aristotle*, *Horace*, &c. but because they are in Nature and in Truth. *Homer*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, wrote before *Aristotle*, and the Observations he made upon their Poems, were to shew us how they succeeded by a happy Imitation of Nature, and without such Imitation there can be no Poetry; but according to Sir Robert Howard's Assertion, that only which a Man likes is good; and if you are pleas'd with seeing or hearing any Thing unnatural or even monstrous,

A Woman's Head join'd to a Fishes Tail;

it is preferable to what is just and true, to the *Venus of Medicis*, or the most perfect *Madonna* in *Italy*. Thus a wrong Taste is as good as a right one, and the Smell of a Pole-cat to be preferr'd to that of a *Civet*, if a Man's Nose is so irregular. After this Rate, there never was a Poet who could write up to the *Frenchman's Ladder-dance*, or *Rich's Harlequin*; and whereas Sir Robert says, we may as well believe, because others do, as judge, because *Aristotle*, *Horace*, &c. do, there is no Agreement in the Proposition, or it is not rightly stated; for we do not judge so because *Aristotle* and *Horace* did so judge; but because it is in Nature and in Truth, and they first shew'd us the Way to find it out.

Criticism is so far from being well understood by us *Englishmen*, that it is generally mistaken to be an Effect of Envy, Jealousy, and Spleen; an invidious Desire to

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find Faults only to discredit the Author, and build a Reputation on the Ruin of his.

One has great Reason to think so, when the Critick looks only on one Side; when he hunts after little Slips and Negligences, and will not, or cannot see, what is beautiful and praise-worthy. If an historical or poetical Performance can no sooner acquire Applause, than he falls upon it without Mercy, neglects every Thing commendable in it, and skims off the Filth that rises on the Top of it; one may be sure his Jealousy is piqu'd, and he is alarm'd for fear every Encrease of Honour to another should be a Diminution of his own Glory; such Sort of Criticism is easily learnt. A Wen or Mole in the Face is sooner perceiv'd than the Harmony of Features, and the fine Proportion of Beauty; or, as *Dryden* says,

*Errours like Straws upon the Surface flow,
He who would search for Pearls must dive below.*

This Thought is borrow'd from the Lord *Bacon*; who speaking of Notions and Inferences what may be applied to Families, says, *Time is like a River in which Metals and solid Substances sink, while Chaff and Straw swim on the Surface.* Such borrowing as *Dryden's*, is highly commendable; he has paid back what he borrowed with Interest, and it can by no Means deserve the Scandal of *Plagiarism*. I cannot doubt, but Mr. *Addison* in the sublime Thought, where he represents the Duke of *Marborough* in the Heat of the War:

Rides in the Whirlwind, and directs the Storm;
did nor forget these two Lines of *Boileau* to the King:
*Serene himself the stormy War he guides,
And o'er the Battle like a God presides.*

I shall all along, through this Discourse, take the Liberty to pass from one Subject to another as the Hint offers, without any Method, according to the Freedom of *Essays*. Mr. *Dryden* excuses this Freedom, by the Example of *Horace's* Epistle to the *Piso's*, which is immethodical, and I must excuse my self by Mr. *Dryden's* —

The Taste and Appetite of these straw Criticks, may justly be compar'd to Ravens and Crows, who neglecting clean Food, are always searching after Carrion.

Horace's

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Horace's Rule is very well worth observing, when we are about to give Judgement on a Poem or History, where the *Will* is not concern'd :

Ubi plura nitent in Carmine non ego paucis
Offendor maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.

*When in a Poem most are shining Thoughts,
I'm not offended if I find some Faults ;
Such as are Slips of Negligence, or where
The Poet may through humane Frailty erre.*

As it is much easier to discern Blemishes than Beauties, so is it to censure than to commend, as the Duke of *Buckingham* tells us ;

*Yet whatsoe'er is by vain Criticks thought,
Praising is harder much than finding Fault :
In homely Pieces ev'n the Dutch excel,
Italians only can draw Beauty well.*

Such Criticks need not be in Pain, if a Poem or History makes its Way in the World a little ; if it is not good, it will lose Ground of it self faster than it got it. If imperfect Pieces have gain'd Credit, and kept it for some Time, it was not for what was bad in them, but what, if not really good, was at least agreeable. *Dryden's* Translation of *Virgil* was generally liked for the Diction and Versification, though it was dislik'd on Account of Equality and Truth ; and to have made a Critick upon it, as *Milbourn* did, without doing justice to his Numbers and Language, shew'd the Spirit of the Man was more engaged in it than his Judgement. All Criticisms on *Dryden's* Language and Numbers are in Defiance of *Horace's* Rule above-mention'd, because there is no Body but knows that it was impossible for *Dryden* to make an ill Verse, or to want an apt and musical Word, if he took the least Care about it. I could very easily mark out a thousand Slips and Negligences of that Kind in his *Virgil* ; yet for all that, there are more good Verses in that Translation than in any other, if Mr. *Pope's* *Homer* is not to be excepted.

It has been often said by very good Judges, that *Caio* was no proper Subject for a Dramatick Poem : That the

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Character of a Cynick Philosopher, is very inconsistent with the Hurry and Tumult of Action and Passion, which are the Soul of Tragedy. That the ingenious Author miscarried in the Plan of his Work, but supported it by the Dignity, the Purity, the Beauty, and the Justness of the Sentiments and the Diction.

This was so much the Opinion of Mr. *Maynwaring*, who was generally allow'd to be the best Critick of our Time, that he was against bringing the Play upon the Stage, and it lay by unfinish'd many Years. Mr. *Maynwaring* highly approv'd of the Sentiments and the Diction, but did not fall in with the Design. That it was play'd at last was owing to Mr. *Hughes*, who wrote the *Siege of Damascus*, a Tragedy. He had read the Four Acts, which were finished, and rightly thought it would be of Service to the Publick, to have it represented at the latter End of Queen *Ann's* Reign, when the old *English* Spirit of Liberty was as likely to be lost as it had ever been since the Conquest. He endeavour'd to bring Mr. *Addison* into his Opinion, which he did so far as to procure his Consent, that it should be acted if Mr. *Hughes* would write the last Act, and he offer'd him the Scenary for his Assistance, excusing his not finishing it himself on Account of some other Avocations. He prest Mr. *Hughes* to do it so earnestly, that he was prevail'd upon and set about it. But a Week after, seeing Mr. *Addison* again with an Intention to communicate to him what he had thought of it, he was agreeably surpris'd at his producing some Papers, where near half of the Act was written by the Author himself, who took Fire at the Hint that it would be serviceable, and upon a second Reflection went thorough with the Fifth Act: Not that he was diffident of Mr. *Hughes's* Ability, but knowing that no Man could have so perfect a Notion of his Design as himself, who had been so long and so carefully thinking of it. I was told this by Mr. *Hughes*, and I tell it to shew that it was not for the *Love* Scenes, that Mr. *Addison* consented to have his Tragedy acted, but to support the old *Roman* and *English* Publick Spirit, which was then so near being suppressed by Faction and Bigotry. The most cunning of their Leaders were sensible of it, and therefore very dexterously stole away the Merit of the Poem, by applauding the Poet, and patronizing the Action and Actors. It is therefore

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fore obvious, that a severe Critick may find a Colour for his Severity, with Respect to the *Design* of the Play, but that will not hinder its captivating every one that sees or reads it. The Graces and Excellencies, both of Thought and Expression, do much more deserve our Admiration and Applause, than the Deficiency in the Fable deserves Censure. However, as to *Dryden's Virgil* and *Cato*, ask those that admire the one or the other what it is that pleases them? And I doubt it will be found to be the very Places, which should have most displeased, where *Dryden* offended most against the Character of Epick Poetry by imitating *Ovid's* Softness, and an eternal *Jeu des Mots*, *Playing upon Words*, and where *Cato* suspends the Action and Passion of the Scene to teach the Audience, Philosophy and Morality.

It is common for the most discreet and delicate Authors to take Care of themselves, when they are treating of any of the Sciences. You will always find the Divine, the Lawyer, the Mathematician, the Astrologer, the Chymist, the Mechanick, &c. reserving to themselves the Merit of their particular Sciences when they are discoursing of the Arts in general. A merry Instance of this in the *Astrologer* is mention'd by the very learned Gregory out of *Albumazer*, who asserted, that all Religions were govern'd by the Planets; the *Mahometan* by *Venus*, the *Jewish* by *Saturn*, and the *Christian* by the *Sun*: Nay, he adds, that one *Guido Bonatus* a *Gymnosophist* affirms in his Parallels, that *Christ himself was an Astrologer, and made use of Elections*. The Spectator, with all his Modesty, has discover'd something of this Self-love in that of the Sciences, and could not help giving into this Infirmary. Every one knows what a fine Talent he had for Writing, and particularly how beautiful his Imagination was, and how polite his Language. Himself was not a Stranger to it; and we therefore read in the Spectator, N^o 291; *I might further observe, that there is not a Greek or Latin Critick, who has not shewn, even in the Stile of his Criticisms, that he was Master of all the Elegance and Delicacy of his native Language*. Here does this excellent Author forbid any one's Claim to the Character of a Critick, who is not like himself Master of the Delicacy and Elegance of his native Tongue; though I am apt to believe, that as a Man may be a

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very good Judge of Painting without being himself a Painter, so he may make very good Criticisms in Poetry and Eloquence, without being a Poet or an Orator. What would have become of our famous Critick *Rymer*, whom *Mr. Dryden* has so much commended, and so much abused, if his Criticisms must not pass, on Account of his not being Master of the Elegance and Delicacy of our Language, as it does not appear he was by his Translation of *Ovid's* Epistle from *Penelope* to *Ulysses*.

Here skulk'd Ulysses.

*Your Sword how Dolon no nor Rhesus 'scap'd,
Banter'd the One, this taken as he napp'd.*

*Whatever Skippers hither come ashore,
For thee I ask and ask them o'er and o'er.*

Perhaps to her your dowdy Wife define

Who cares no more, so that her Cupboard shine:

Who revel in your House without Controul,

And eat and waste your Means our Blood and Soul.

The *Bantring* and *Napping*, the *Skipper*, the *Dowdy Wife*, the *Cupboard*, the *Means*, and the *Blood and Soul*, agree admirably with the Royal Characters of King *Ulysses* and Queen *Penelope*, and the courtly Manner of *Ovid*. *Radcliff's* Letter, from the Skipper's Wife of *Newcastle* to her Husband at *St. Catherine's*, can hardly have more of the Burlesque in it.

The Truth is, *Mr. Addison*, in the above Quotation, has a Fling upon the Author of the Critick upon his *Cato*. *A few general Rules extracted out of the French Authors, with a certain Cant of Words, have sometimes set up an illiterate heavy Writer, for a most judicious and formidable Critick*. I know no Instance wherein that Gentleman loses his Temper so much as in this. There were but three Authors in our Time who were Criticks by Profession, *Rymer*, *Dennis*, and *Gildon*. *Rymer* is own'd by himself to be a masterly Critick: He himself knew *Mr. Dennis* did not want Learning; and as to Fire, he has perhaps rather too much of it, than too little. I can't help thinking, that the Ode he writ on *Dryden's* Translation of the 3d Book of the *Georgicks*, in *Tonson's* Fourth Miscellany, deserv'd a kinder Word than illiterate or heavy.

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STANZA II.

*Sometimes of humble rural Things
My Muse, which keeps great Maro still in sight,
In middle Air with varied Numbers sings;
And sometimes her sonorous Flight
To Heaven sublimely wings.
But first takes Time with Majesty to rise
Then, without Pride, divinely great
She mounts her native Skies;
And Goddess-like retains her State
When down again she flies.*

The Passage, taken out of the *Spectator*, could not relate to *Gildon*, because of the *French Cant*; which he did not affect, nor understand. It is plain therefore, it must refer to the Critick upon *Cato*; which shews us, that as conscious as the most modest Man may be of his own Insufficiency; yet, when it is in Dispute, he cannot always preserve his Insensibility. *Cato* is a very good *Dramatick Poem*, and so was the *Cid*; yet the best Critick that ever was written in *French*, was that upon the *Cid*, as *La Bruyere* observes.

In another of the *Spectators*, we meet with something which proves to us, that a Man may have as much Modesty as Mr. *Addison*; and yet be very jealous of losing any Part of the Glory which is due to him. Every one knows, that though he was a Master of Eloquence, he never attempted to speak in Parliament, but it was with some Confusion; and what he said, did not answer the Expectation which had been raised by the Character of his Writings. Himself takes notice of this, not as an Infirmary, but as the Effect of Caution and Art. *Spectator*, N^o 231, Cicero tells us, that he never liked an Orator, who did not appear in some little Confusion at the Beginning of his Speech; and confesses, that he himself never entered upon an Oration without Trembling and Concern. It is indeed a Kind of Deference which is due to a great Assembly. The bravest Man often appears timorous upon these Occasions, as we may observe that there is generally no Creature more impudent than a Coward. I hope I shall not be thought invidious, or to endeavour to lessen the Veneration, which all, who love polite Learning, owe to the

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the Memory of the *Spectator* ; yet I could not but take notice, how sensible the most Discreet are in Point of Rivalship in Fame. What else can one think of the *Spectator's* Saying in the Dedication of the Eighth Volume : *I need not tell you, that the free and disengaged Behaviour of a fine Gentleman, makes as many awkward Beaux, as the Easiness of your Favourite Waller hath made insipid Poets.* Though the *fine Gentleman* may be applied to Mr. Waller, and the *awkward Beaux* to the insipid Poets ; yet the Comparison cannot hold, without doing an Injury to Mr. Waller's Merit. The *Beaux* may be awkward, by imitating what you call a *fine Gentleman*, who is generally distinguish'd by some Affectation ; but no Poet can be insipid by imitating Mr. Waller's Easiness, if he has any Portion of his Wit and Gallantry. The *Spectator's* Manner was not very different from Mr. Waller's, as to Easiness ; and I have as often heard it wished, that there was more Fire in his own Poetry, as that there was more in Mr. Waller's. Two of the politest Authors in Europe, of the last Age, St. Evremont and La Fontaine, had such an Esteem for Mr. Waller, that it is strange he meets with no better Quarter at Home. Those two famous French Wits us'd to call him another *Anacreon* ; and the Criticks have not yet complain'd, that ever *Anacreon* taught any Poet to be insipid. Mr. Addison is so far from thinking that Waller had any such Infection about him, that he wishes he had lived to have sung in Praise of King William, the sublimest Subject that ever was offered to a Muse, by how much the Deliverer of Nations from Slavery is a more godlike Character, than to have subjected and enslaved them, as did Alexander and Cæsar.

*The Courtly Waller next commands my Lays,
 Muse, tune thy Verse with Art to Waller's Praise.
 While tender Airs, and lovely Dames inspire
 Soft melting Thoughts, and propagate Desire ;
 So long shall Waller's Strains our Passion move,
 And Sacharissa's Beauties kindle Love.
 Thy Verse, harmonious Bard, and flatt'ring Song,
 Can make the Vanquish'd great, the Coward strong :
 Thy Verse can shew ev'n Cromwell's Innocence,
 And complement the Storms that bore him hence.*

Ob!

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11

Oh! had thy Muse not come an Age too soon,
But seen great Nassau on the British Throne,
How had his Triumphs glitter'd in thy Page,
And warm'd thee to a more exalted Rage.
What Scenes of Death, &c.

So little Danger is there of learning to be insipid by imitating *Waller*, that he is praised by the Editor of *St. Evremond's Works*, for the Elevation of his Genius, *Mr. Edmond Waller*; *s'est generally fait admirer par l'Elevation de son Esprit.*

I do not in this *Essay* aim at any Thing more, than, as I have said before, to put several critical Hints, which I had collected, together, and not to form a regular Discourse, but take them as they come in my way.

If the *Spectator*, by the Passage above-mentioned, insinuates that a Man must be able to perform himself in an Art, to be a good Judge of the Performances of others; consequently, that I ought to be a masterly Historian, to make Remarks on *Mr. Echard's History*, he divests me at once of the Right I pretend to in the following Treatise. Let us therefore enquire into the Reason of this Reflection.

Horace, whom no *English* Author could understand better than the *Spectator*, as appears by his admirable Translation, teaches us otherwise,

Munus & Officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo.

Yet without writing, I may teach to write.

[*Rosc.*

Dacier's Notes upon *Hippocrates*, as I have been informed by my worthy Friend *Dr. Allen*, are much better than any others, though made by Men of the Faculty, which *Dacier* did not profess. *Monfieur Corneille*, the greatest Genius in *France* for Tragedy, wrote *Examins* of his Pieces, which, like *Dryden's Prefaces*, were adapted to the several Tragedies, and very often clashed with one another, as the Subject required: but because he would prevent as much as possible any Attack of Criticism, he declares in one of his Discourses, *That the Knowledge which is acquired by Study and Speculation, is of little or no Use without Experience.* Thus an Author must produce a Tragedy himself, before he presumes to criticise

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criticise on another's. If it be the same Thing in History too, I began at the wrong End, and should have written three or four Folio Histories, before I had presum'd to make Remarks on Archdeacon *Echard's*, this would bear very hard upon me, and I must beg Leave to enquire a little whether the Case be really so or not.

Monfieur *Dacier* is so far from being of *Corneille's* Opinion, that he thinks a Man who never did write a Tragedy, may criticise on another's Poem the better for that he never wrote himself. *Nay, I do not know*, says he in his Preface to *Aristotle*, *whether he who has written Dramatick Poems, is so proper to explain the Rules of the Art, as he, who never wrote any: For it would be a Miracle if the former were not seduced by Self-love; whereas the latter is disinterested, and the more likely to be an impartial Judge.* Again, *if it was necessary to be a good Poet to make Criticisms on Poetry, we should never have had any Critick at all; for I do not know one Critick upon Poetry, that was himself a Poet.* By this one would think, that he did not look upon *Rapin* as a Critick in Poetry, for he wrote a Poem on *Gardening*. *Menage* makes as little of him as *Dacier*; yet *Dryden* says, were all the Writings of other Criticks lost, *Rapin's* Works alone would be sufficient to teach us the whole Art of Criticism. We all know *Aristotle* and *Horace* wrote upon Epick Poetry and Tragedy, yet neither of them ever wrote a Tragedy or Epick Poem; and perhaps neither of them would have succeeded if he had. *Rymer* made one poor Attempt that Way in his *Edgar*: But, as if it had been written only to prove that a Man may judge well of an Art, without being a Performer, like an ill-built Ship, it sunk in the very launching, and seem'd to be written only to be damned.

The *Guardian* seconds the *Spectator*, and forbids any one to criticise, that cannot write to Perfection. *If I find by his own Manner of Writing, that he is heavy and tasteless, I throw aside his Criticisms with a secret Indignation, to see a Man without Genius or Politeness, dictating to the World on Subjects which I find are above his Reach.* Thus Mr. *Rymer*, the best Critick we had till then, and all his Rules, are void and of no Effect: He has cancelled them with a Dash of his Pen. If a Man must not only have Politeness, but a Genius, what will become of *Aristotle* and *Longinus*, *Bossu* and *Dacier*? They were all
polite

polite Writers, but have not discover'd that they had Genius. I ever had as little Opinion of heavy tasteless Criticks as the *Spectator* or *Guardian*, yet I never could endure an arbitrary Judgement; for, what else is *tasteless* and *heavy* without Proof? But then, that Proof could not be produced without the *Criticisms*, which, let them be ever so poor, are often more easily despis'd than answer'd.

I was always convinced by Example, that a Critick may have a just Taste, without being a Poet; and that the Indignation the *Guardian* speaks of, is never provoked, unless a weak Place is hit upon: As, in the low Phrase, *A galled Horse winces when you touch the Sore*. In three or four Lines, we have *tasteless, heavy, dogmatical, stupid* Macer and Mundungus all of the poor Criticks. Had they been really such stupid Creatures, they could not have given such Offence. Hard Words shew Anger more than Indignation, and we are apt to conjecture, that the Poets would not be so angry with the Criticks, if they were not afraid of them. The Concern of the former is wonderfully generous; they are not in Pain for what the Criticks say of their Errours and Failings, but for the Heaviness and Stupidity of their Criticisms. Thus in the lowest Life, we shall often hear one angry Woman cry out of another, *I do not matter what she said of me, but to see the Impudence of the Slut*. Macer and Mundungus are taken from Mr. Congreve's Epistle to Sir Richard Temple;

*So Macer and Mundungus school the Times,
And write in rugged Verse the softer Rules of Rhimes.*

If the *Guardian* had the Critick upon Cato in his Thoughts, when he quoted those Verses, which I suppose he had, why does he mention rhiming Criticisms? That Author wrote his Rules and Remarks always in Prose, so did Rymer; what then do they all mean by *rugged Verse*? The Lord Roscommon's Poetry is Harmony it self. The last Essay upon Criticism in Verse was not then written. There remains only the late Duke of Buckingham's Poetical Essay, of Note enough to be remembered by Mr. Congreve: That could not be named, without offending good *Breeding*, a Term very often made use of by two elegant Authors; who, I much question, had never the Education of a Dancing-Master. However, Poetry and Criticism are perfect Levellers, and no
Man

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Man can plead Privilege in the Court of *Parnassus* ; what then is the Meaning of the next Lines after *Mundungus* ?

*Well do they play the careful Critick's Part,
Instructing doubly by their matchless Art :
Rules for good Verse they first with Pains indite,
Then shew us what are bad by what they write.*

The *Guardian* and *Spectator* would not do the Poets the Honour to name them ; but we know who are the Criticks which are *thrown aside* by them ; for no Body but Mr. D—— and Mr. G—— made Remarks upon their Writings, and both of them did. I do not say with that Politeness and Elegance, which the *Spectator* and *Guardian* have laid down, as the sole Characteristicks of good Taste and Judgement ; though one may almost as well say, that a Man cannot have good Sense and Wit, without good Cloaths and a genteel Air. I must needs own, that I think most of their Criticisms very just, though had they been still juster than they are, I would not have been the Author of them, without taking Notice of Beauties, as well as finding of Faults, there being much more Room for the former than the latter.

It is very plain, the *Spectator* highly stomached the Remarks which were made on his Writings, and is not very candid in his Reasoning, to render his Opponents contemptible, which was the surest Way of disarming them. *These Criticks fall upon a Play, not because it is ill written, but because it takes*: This is not the whole Truth. It is not because it *takes*, but because it takes for those very Things which should have damned it. *Dursey's Boarding-School*, and his *Marriage-Hater match'd*, took with a Vengeance, though the two greatest Pieces of Wit in them, were *Miss's Bread and Butter*, and *Mynbeer's Muff*. *Settle's Tragedies* took for the Noise, the Show, and the Rhime. No Play, that was not supported by poetical or political Party, which most *taking* Plays have been, ever took more than *Settle's Heir of Morocco*, in which there is not one good Thought or Expression. Again, *several of these Criticks have laid it down as a Maxim, that whatever Dramatick Poem has a long Run, must of Necessity be good for nothing*, which is a Misrepresentation.

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presentation. The *Orphan*, *Venice Preserv'd*, *Tamerlane*, &c. had long Runs, and run still; yet no Critick has dared to say they did not deserve it: But whoever will owe his Reputation to *taking* only, must be contented to roll with *Settle*, *Dursey*, and many other Poets, that took in their Turn. Could any thing be more monstrous, than to determine the Merit of *Nixon's Prophecy*, and the *Spectator*, by the Run of the Papers. The former, a Maggot given to the Rabble, bore more Editions in Ten Weeks, than the latter has done in Ten Years.

I would not be understood in this, or any thing else, to endeavour to lessen the Opinion the People have generally and justly of the *Spectator's* Perfections: I verily believe, there is no Production of the Mind, antient or modern, where are to be found more Wit, Politeness, fine Raillery, good Sense, Learning, and Eloquence; but what I have said, is to shew, that great Wits as well as little have their Passions, their Piques and Prejudices, when the least Blemish is discovered in their Glory. In the same *Spectator*, we have another Hint, that no Body ought to criticise on that Author's Writings, unless he could write as elegantly as himself, which effectually cuts off all Criticism. These *professed Criticks* cannot put ten Words together with Elegance, or common Propriety. What an arbitrary Way of arguing is this? These Criticks are Smatterers; *They vilify only the Productions that gain Applause; the Blemishes they descry are imaginary; their Arguments are far fetched: Their Works are like those of the Sophists, they are thought deep, because unintelligible; they instruct the People in Absurdities.* Would the *Spectator* allow this positive Air in any other Writer? How does it appear that one Word of all this is true? *Ipse dixit.* That must satisfy, though he is in this Case too much a Party, to be a Judge. *These Criticks are led themselves into Absurdities, by not considering, That there is sometimes a greater Judgement shewn in deviating from the Rules of Art, than adhering to them.* The Word *sometimes* here would make every right Argument wrong, and every Truth Falsehood, because *sometimes* there may be an Exception to a general Rule. Why, does he not tell us, wherein himself, or any one else shewed his Judgement in deviating from the Rules of Art? The *Critical Smatterers* do not charge him in those Places where Judgement was shewn in such deviating,
but

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but where the Want of Judgement appeared in it. I shall have occasion to touch this Subject a little elsewhere; though I hope what I have said here, is enough to prove that just *Criticisms* are not the Productions of Ignorance and Envy, as the *Spectator* intimates; but that they are, on the contrary, useful and necessary to be a Check on the greatest Genius's, who want the Rein much more than the Spur; and what, in a few Years, would become of all good Writing, if those great Genius's could impose their very Blemishes on the World for the most shining Beauties?

The *Spectator* gives us another Mark, by which we may discover a Critick, who has neither Taste nor Learning, and that is, *He seldom ventures to praise any Passage in an Author, which has not been before received and applauded by the Publick.* If this Remark had been infallible and universal, it must have deprived the *Spectator* himself of the two greatest Beauties in all his Quotations out of *Milton* which are in every one's Mouth. The One in the sublime Kind in the Speech to the *Sun*.

*Oh thou, that with surpassing Glory crown'd,
Look'st from thy sole Dominion like the God
Of this new World. —*

The Other in the tender Kind. *Adam to Eve.*

*Her Hand soft touching whisper'd thus, Awake
My Fairest, my espous'd, my best belov'd,
Heavens last, best Gift, my ever new Delight,
Awake.*

which had before been a thousand Times repeated as the Perfection of *English* Poetry, in their several Kinds. And the Author, who shall have occasion to quote them as such after the *Spectator*, will not discover his Want of Taste or Learning by it. Very just is his Observation, *A true Critick ought to dwell rather upon Excellencies than Imperfections, &c.* But as this has Relation chiefly to those Compositions which require Genius, Judgement and Eloquence; and consequently, cannot relate to Mr. *Eckard's* History of *England*, we shall now say no more of it.

That I may not be guilty of the Fault I blame in others, the neglecting of Beauties, and falling unmercifully upon the

the Blemishes of Authors. I must sincerely acknowledge, that it was not for Want of Will, that I did not mention what is beautiful in our Historian, but for Want of Opportunity. What Part of his Performance should I have applauded! Is it the *Design*? The Author does not himself pretend, that it is regular, if by *Design* in *History*, we are to understand the *Plan* as in *Poetry*: He will not deny, but that his Method is too much diversified, and too confused; sometimes it is *General History*, sometimes *Annals*, sometimes a *Diary*, sometimes *Biography*; all which he seems to think he has sufficiently provided against, by dividing the whole Work into *Sections*, and putting Pals between his Paragraphs. This Confusion will be easily pardoned by his Readers, there being hardly one in a Thousand that knows the Difference between *Biography* and *History*, or between an *Annalist* and an *Historian*; or who does not take *Buck's Richard III.*, or *Cambden's Queen Elizabeth*, to be as much of the historical Kind, as *Samuel Daniel's History of England*, which is the only *English History* that has the least Appearance of Uniformity and Regularity of Design.

Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam, is in nothing a more necessary Maxim, than in the Productions of the Mind. It is not because a Man can write a Sonnet, an Elegy, nay, an Ode, or a Dramatick Poem, that therefore he can succeed in Epick; though we in *England* are apt to confound all Sorts of Poetry and Poets, and to think that there is but one and the same Genius necessary for all of them. Thus it is, that you often hear the Question in Company, which is the best Poet, *Virgil* or *Horace*, *Milton* or *Waller*, *Dryden* or *Wycherley*, *Congreve* or *Row*. It is the same Thing in History: If a Man is able to abridge a Dictionary, to collect and compile Memoirs; in a Word, if he can put a Tale together, he is immediately an Historian, though Story-telling and History are as different as a *Madrigal* and a *Pindarick Ode*.

History is designed to instruct Mankind by Example, to shew what Men were by what they did, and from particular Instances to form general Lessons in all the various Stations of Life; and our Historian has so far a just Conception of its Dignity and Use, that he speaks of his own Performance as if he had formed a regular noble Design, with a regular and noble View, and executed it with

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equal Beauty and Perfection. Very great Talents are requisite to succeed in it, especially that of Judgement, to relate only what is worth relating, and to make proper Reflections upon Events for the Instruction of the Reader. *Nothing is more necessary for an Historian, says Pere Rabin, than Judgement: Nothing requires so much Sense, so much Reason, so much Wit, so much Wisdom, and other good Qualities, as History, to succeed in writing it; and above all, Un Heureux Naturel, a happy Genius, which endowed with all these Qualifications, will not do without, Un Grand Commerce du Monde, a great Knowledge of the World.* Pere Bouhours, whom Mr. Addison thought the most judicious and penetrating of all the French Criticks, has an admirable Remark on the Reflections of Historians, in his *Maniere de bien penser*. The Historian ought to shine most in his Reflections: Nothing is so irregular as to reflect falsely on Events that are true. He mentions a pleasant Instance of a French Priest, who said in a Sermon, *The Heart of Man being of a triangular Figure, and the World of a round one; It is plain, that all worldly Greatness cannot fill the Heart of Man.* We have been told a thousand Times, that the Presbyterians had a Quarrel with King Charles the First, and that those who had a Quarrel with him, took him and cut off his Head. The Fact is true as to the Quarrel, but nothing can be more false, than that the Presbyterians beheaded him. The Fact is true, that the Act of Toleration put a Stop to the Persecuting of Dissenters; but the Reflection from it, *That the Church was in Danger*, is false. If I would rifle the *Grand Rebellion*, and Mr. Echard's History, I might have the Honour of being Author of a Folio too, by taking from them Examples of this Kind; and I cannot but think, if the Archdeacon had duely weighed the Difficulties inseparable from his Undertaking, the indispensable Duty of Sincerity and Truth, and the great Talents necessary for an Historian, he would have transferred the Work to another, not a Dealer in Records only, from whom one can expect nothing but the naked Facts without Form or Order, without Ornament, or even cloathing; very proper for Evidence in Tryals at Law, but too rude and unpolished for the Beauty and Elegance of History: Yet I am satisfied, there is not one Man in a Thousand in
England,

England, but thinks there are no Writers so fit to make Historians as your Record Keepers and Library Keepers, who are just as necessary in such Work as Masons and Carpenters are in Architecture, and no more in Comparison with the Architect, than the *Axe* or the *Chisel* are in Comparison with them. An excellent Historian, says Monsr. Pellisson, Pref. to Sar. ought to have a general Knowledge of the World and of Affairs, and a subtle and penetrating Wit, to distinguish the true Causes of humane Actions, from the Pretexes and Colours which are given them. Thus our Historian should have distinguish'd Archbishop Laud's natural Pride and Severity, from that Piety and Zeal which are the Pretexes and Colours that are given them. He should also have distinguish'd the Pique and Partiality in the Grand Rebellion from Truth and Sincerity, which are the Pretexes and Colours. Again,

Tacitus, said he, wrote *Sine studio Partium & Ira*; if the same may be said of the two Historians in Question, I have done them much Wrong. The late Earl of Shaftsbury, in his Letter of *Enthusiasm*, has this Expression: *We have few modern Writers, who, like Xenophon or Cicero, can write their own Commentaries, and the raw Memoir Writings, and uninformed Pieces of modern Statesmen full of their own interested and private Views, will, in another Age, be of little Service to support their Memory or Name, since already the World begins to sicken with them.*

It is somewhat strange, that Mr. Echard should not be so well acquainted with the Weakness of the vulgar Humour in England, as a Foreigner; who was so sensible of the Peoples Fondness to hear Stories, that he excuses those of a better Taste amongst them, who cannot relish such as relate to Ghosts, Devils, Prophecies, and the like, with which the Archdeacon's History abounds. The Author of the *Paris Journal des Sçavans*, speaking of English History Writers, and their bringing in Prophecies and strange Stories, says, *Granting it to be true, it is not so much to be attributed to their Want of Skill, as to their Compliance with the Humour of the People, that attend too much to Prophecies, and are too much affected with Tales*; which Humour our Historian has rather indulged than discomtenanced, and it must surely be for Want of Judge-

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ment, after the indulging them in it, had been so much exploded. The *French* Historian *Maimbourg* participates of the same Character, and his Zeal for the Church, could not procure him a better one abroad, than what was given him in *Italy*; that he was among Historians, what *Momus* is among the Gods, *only to tell Tales*; with which the Vulgar are as well contented, as with Relations that are truly historical. But we should be as cautious of reading such Histories, as *Menage* tells us he was of reading *Morreri's*, for Fear we should remember them. *Collier* knew better than *Menage*, and therefore translated *Morreri's* three Folio's into *English*, as a rich Store for the Memories of his Countrymen.

Having so little Reason to commend the Historian for his *Design*, I should make him amends in the Sentiments, if there was the least Room for it. It is true, in History, if the Facts are fairly related, the Sentiments must be brought along with them, and the Author is not accountable for them as in Poetry: But if the Sentiments do not correspond with the Facts; if Meekness and Holiness are seated to give Judgement in the *High Commission* and *Star Chamber* Courts; if Piety is mounted on Horseback with the Lord High Treasurer's Staff in her Hand; if the most noble Characters are ascribed to Persons engaged in the most unjustifiable Actions, we may depend upon it, these Persons, either did not think, or did not act as they are represented, and consequently that the History is false and vicious: The Historians Reflections upon Events are entirely his own, and we shall see in the following Pages, how wise and how weighty they are: But as they bear all on one Side, like an ill ballasted Ship, it is much, if in the Course of a few Years, it does not overfet the History.

There is no greater Vice in Historians, than poor and common Reflections, The Poverty of the Archdeacon's appears in the *After Wit*, which makes a good Part of them; and the *Vulgarisms*, which will be further explain'd as Occasions offers.

Indeed we do not enough acquaint ourselves in *England*, with what Father *Bouhours* calls the *Manner of Right Thinking*, in his Treatise before mentioned; which *Fonzenelle* recommends as one of the most agreeable and useful Books in the *French* Tongue: We have nothing like it
in

in *English*, or in any other Language antient or modern, Wit and Humour, Wit and good Sense, Wit and Wisdom, Wit and Reason, Wit and Craft ; nay, Wit and Philosophy, are with us almost the same Things. How often have I heard it said, there is a great Deal of Wit in *Homer*, a great Deal of Humour in *Virgil*. We take all Thoughts in the Gross ; the Sublime, the Grand, the Noble, the Pretty, the Agreeable, the Fine, the Delicate, are all alike witty with us ; and the Vulgar are ignorant of all other Distinction, but that of a *Jest* and a *Bull*. Sir *Samuel Garth*, who was extremely fond of Father *Bouhours's* Treatise, did often wish that it was translated, and the Examples the *French* Critick takes from *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French* Authors, not to be turned into *English*, but *English* Examples to be put instead of them. I am satisfied nothing would be of more Advantage towards the Refinement of our Manner, both of Thinking and Writing. I know the Undertaking would be very difficult, and the greatest Part of the Difficulty be to preserve the Spirit and Turn of Thought in the *English* Examples, to make it answer Father *Bouhours's* Remarks. Who is there, that does not take a sublime Thought, a noble Thought, a grand Thought, to be synonymous Terms, though they differ from one another, almost as much as from the Agreeable and the Delicate. I am my self afraid to attempt any Thing like Examples of Kinds, and probably my Conceptions of them may be wrong ; what they are I shall offer them to the Reader, with the Caution and Submission which becomes me in a Matter so intricate and nice.

The first Example of the *Sublime* is so well known, that if there was any other so good in any other Author, I should not have made use of it. It is in the 7th Chapter of *Longinus*. We will not borrow it from *Boileau*, because we are forbidden by the *Spectator* to make Use of a Quotation which has been made Use of before. Dr. *Gregory*, in the Preface to his Works, printed about sixty Years ago, at what Time *Boileau* had not thought of translating *Longinus*, writes thus : Dionysius Longinus, one that knew what belonged to Expression ; having first of all cast a Scorn upon his *Homer*. The Translator does not dwell much upon this, says τῶν ἰσχυρῶν διαπονήτων, that the Law-givers of the Jews, οὐκ ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἀνὴρ, no ordinary

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dinary Man, was in the Right when he brought in his God, saying, *Guarda quæ, & iudica.*

*Let there be Light,
And there was Light.*

But least it may be said, the Spectator has entered a Caveat against my using any Quotation, which he or any one else had used, I shall add another Instance of the Sublime taken out of the same divine Book the Bible, that has not been blown upon :

*He spake,
And it was:
He commanded,
And it stood firm.*

The whole Psalm xxxiiiid is full of the Sublime :

*By the Word of the Lord were the Mountains made,
And all the Host of them by the Breath of his Mouth.*

What in all profane Learning comes up to the Sublime in the xxxviiiith Chapter of Job, where the Almighty is introduced speaking to him out of the Whirlwind :

*Gird up thy Loins like a Man, for I will demand of thee.
Where wast thou when I laid the Foundations of the Earth?
Declare, If thou hast Understanding.
Who laid the Measures thereof?
Who hath stretched the Line upon it?
Whereupon are the Foundations thereof fastened? or,
Who laid the Corner Stone?
When the Morning Stars sang, and the Sons of God shouted
Happily imitated by Milton. [for Joy!*

— — — Up he rode,
Follow'd with Acclamations, and the Sound
Symphonious of ten thousand Harps, that tuned
Angelick Harmonies, the Earth, the Air
Resounding. Thou rememberest; for thou hearest
The Heavens, and all the Constellations ring:
The Planets in their Stations listening stood,
While the bright Pomp ascended jubilant.
Open ye everlasting Gates: They sung,
Open ye Heavens, your living Doors; Let in
The great Creator from his Work returned
Magnificent, his Six Days Work, a World.

Of the sublime Kind is the Ode in the Spectator, N^o 465 ; being a Paraphrase on that of the Psalmist. *The Heavens declare :*

*The spacious Firmament on high,
With all the blue Ethereal Sky ;
And spangled Heavens, a shining Frame,
Their great Original proclaim.*

Some very scrupulous Persons may be apt to object against the third Line as an Anteclimax, the *spangled Heavens* having much more Lustre than *shining Frame*. The following Stanza is extreamly sublime :

*What tho' in solemn Silence all
Move round the dark terrestrial Ball ;
What tho', nor real Voice, nor Sound
Amid their radiant Orbs be found,
In Reason's Ear they all rejoice,
And utter forth a glorious Voice ;
For ever singing as they shine,
The Hand that made me is divine.*

I cannot omit here some Lines of Mr. Waller's upon the Holy Scriptures, where there is more of the Sublime than in all other Books whatsoever.

*The Græcian Muse has all their gods surviv'd,
Nor Jove at us, nor Phæbus is arriv'd ;
Frail Deities, which first the Poets made,
And then invoc'd to give their Fancies Aid.
Yet, if they still divert us with their Rage,
What may be hop'd for in a better Age,
When not from Helicon's imagin'd Spring,
But sacred Writ we borrow what we sing ?
This with the Fabrick of the World begun
Elder than Light, and shall out-last the Sun.*

There are not ten finer Verses together in Mr. Waller's Poems, yet he wrote them when he was above fourscore Years old.

Are not these two Verses of a Manuscript Poem in the sublime Kind ? the young Author, a Lad at Eaton School, wrote it on the Birth of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland :

*Gods bow he springs like Whirlwinds charg'd with Fire,
He lays War waste, and makes the World retire.*

And these Verses out of *Tamerlane*:

*The dreadful Business of the War is over,
And Slaughter, that from yester Morn till Even,
With Gyant Steps past striding o'er the Field
Besmear'd, and horrid with the Blood of Nations,
Now weary sits among the mangled Heaps,
And slumbers o'er her Prey.*

I cou'd easily fill many Volumes of Quotations out of the Antients and Moderns, in all the Kinds of Thinking; but as I am doubtful of the Success of my Attempt, so the Fewer I insert, the Less I shall offend.

The *French* perhaps have been a little too scrupulous and exact in dividing the *Noble* and the *Grand* in the Manner of Thinking. However, as to the *Noble*, let us see whether this Passage borrow'd of Scripture by *Milton*, will not setve for an Instance:

*All Night he will pursue, but his Approach,
Darkness defends between till Morning Watch,
Then thro' the fiery Pillar and the Cloud,
God looking forth will trouble all his Host,
And craze their Chariot Wheels; when, by Command,
Moses once more, his potent Rod erects
Over the Sea: The Sea his Rod obeys
On their embattled Ranks, the Waves return,
And overwhelm their War.*

There would be no End of it, if one should go about to enumerate such Instances as these out of *Milton*. His Poem of *Paradise lost* is so full of them, that almost out of one Book one might collect as many such noble Passages, as out of all the *Aeneis*; and I would add the *Iliad* too, if I understood Greek half so well as the Translator.

Among the many Sketches of the glorious Character of King *William* in that of *Tamerlane*, Mr. Row has this, which I take to be a very noble Image:

*No Lust of Rule, the common Vice of Kings;
No furious Zeal inspir'd by hot-brain'd Priests:*

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*Ill hid beneath Religions specious Name,
E'er drew his temp'rate Courage to the Field.
But to redress an injur'd Peoples Wrongs,
To save the weak One from the strong Oppressour
Is all his End of War; and when he draws
The Sword to punish, like relenting Heav'n,
He seems unwilling to deface Mankind.*

The Opposition in the following Passage, carries with it its own Application :

— — — — As oft regardless
*Of plighted Faith, with most unkingly Baseness
Without a War proclaim'd, or Cause pretended,
He has t'ane Advantage of their absent Arms
To waste with Sword and Fire their fruitful Fields;
Like some accursed Fiend, who 'scap'd from Hell,
Poisons the balmy Air thro' which he flies,
He blasts the bearded Corn, and loaded Branches,
The lab'ring Hind's best Hopes, and marks his Way with
[Ruin.*

Is there not something noble in what Mr. Waller says to the Duke of Monmouth, at his Return from suppressing a Rebellion in Scotland :

*But seeing Envy like the Sun does beat,
With scorching Rays, on all that's high and great,
This, ill requited Monmouth, is the Bough
The Muses send to shade thy conqu'ring Brow;
Lampoons like Squibs may make a present Blaze,
But Time and Thunder pay Respect to Bays.*

I hope I may make Use of Part of Mr. Addison's Translation of the *Iustum & Tenacem* of Horace. The Translator having done me the Honour to render it in English at my Request :

*The Man resolv'd and steady to his Trust,
Inflexible to Ill, and obstinately just;
May the rude Rabble's Insolence despise
Their senseless Clamours, and tumultuous Cries.
The Tyrant's Fierceness he beguiles,
And the stern Brow, and the harsh Voice defies,
And with superiour Greatness smiles.*

Again,

Again,

*Should the whole Frame of Nature round him break
In Ruin and Confusion hurl'd,
He unconcern'd would bear the mighty Crack,
And stand secure amidst a falling World.*

*Si fractus illabatur Orbis,
Impavidum ferient Ruinae.*

Is not this noble Thought the Original of that which ends the noted *Siloloquy* of *Cato* :

*The Soul secure in his Resistance smiles
At the drawn Dagger, and defies its Point :
The Stars shall fade away, the Sun himself
Grow dim with Age, and Nature sink in Tears ?
But thou shalt flourish in immortal Youth,
Unhurt amidst the War of Elements,
The Wrecks of Matter, and the Crush of Worlds.*

The two Verses quoted out of *Horace* :

Si fractus, &c.

are not so well imitated by the Gentleman that turned *Cato's Siloloquy* into *Latin*, as to defy a Comparison :

*Orbesque fractis ingerentur orbibus
Illæsa tu sedebis extra fragmina*

But not to be always running back to the Antients, let us have Recourse to the Moderns, particularly *Quillet*, and we shall find something in this Kind of Thinking. *Tons. Callip. p. 72.*

*As far as thou may'st Nature's Depths explore
Still inexhaustible, thou find'st the Store ;
Thee let the Order she observes suffice,
What Laws controul our Earth, and what the Skies.
Mark how a thousand starry Orbs on high
Around the Void with equal Motion fly ;
Mark how the huge Machine one Order keeps,
And how the Sun th' Ethereal Champion sweeps.
Both Earth and Air with genial Heat he warms,
Gives ev'ry Grace, and every Beauty forms ;*

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*Whether around the lazy Globe he rolls,
Or Earth is whirl'd about him on her Poles;
God is the Mover, God the living Soul,
That made, that acts, that animates the Whole.
Hence with thy Atoms, Epicurus; hence:
Was all this wond'rous Frame the Sport of Chance!
Of Solids, they, 'tis true, the Matter make,
Can Matter from itself its Figure take!
Can the bright Order in the World we see,
The blind Effect of wanton Fortune be!
Did jumbling Atoms form the various Kind
Of Beings, or did one Almighty Mind?
Guess what you will, you must at last resort
To a first Cause, and not to Chance's Sport.
This Cause is God ———*

I must not omit this Noble Thought of *Milton's*:

*Then crown'd, again their golden Harps, they took
Harps ever tun'd, that glitt'ring by their Side
Like Quivers hung, and with Preamble sweet
Of charming Symphony, they introduce
The sacred Song, and waken Raptures high:
No one exempt, no Voice but well cou'd joyn
Melodious Part, such Concord is in Heav'n.*

Having mention'd so many noble Thoughts in Verse,
I shall conclude this Article, with a very plain but very
noble one in Prose, the Saying of *Leonidas* to *Xerxes*:
*If you had not been too powerful and too happy, you might
have been an honest Man.*

Tho' it is a very hard Matter to distinguish the *Grand*
from the *Noble* in the Manner of Thinking, yet we shall
endeavour it by the following Examples; and sure no-
thing can be more *Grand*, than the Saying of *Alexander*
the Great, to the Greatest of his Captains *Parmenio*.
Darius, King of *Persia*, having offer'd the *Macedonian*
Monarch half *Asia* in Marriage with his Daughter *Statira*.
As for me, says *Parmenio*, *if I were Alexander, I would
accept of these Offers: And so would I*, reply'd that
Prince, *If I were Parmenio*. But why should we be al-
ways dealing in *Heroicks*, and running back into Antiqui-
ty to borrow Example from the Conquerors of the World.
Why may not we propose one in the lowest Life, which
will

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will at the same Time prove, that the Excellencies of both Thought and Expression are in Nature, and not in the Rules of Art only. A Sergeant of the Guards, *What a terrible Fall is this, from Alexander the Great, to a Sergeant of the Guards!* who was in the last Attack upon the Castle of *Namur* in King *William's* War, after he had fir'd his Grenades at the Enemy behind the Palisadoes, leapt over them, and had been slaughter'd, had not a *French* Officer prevented it. The Sergeant being a Prisoner in the Castle was sent for by the Governour Count *Guiscard*, and the Marechal *de Boufflers*. The Latter demanding how he durst attempt to leap the Palisadoes with the Enemy behind them, when he could hardly have done it had there been none? *Perhaps, Sir, I might not, reply'd the brave English Soldier, but there is nothing too difficult for me to come at my Enemy.* A Saying worthy of *Alexander* or *Cæsar*, of *Marlborough* or *Eugene*.

I have seen something like these Verses of Mr. *Waller's*, quoted as in the grand Way of Thinking:

*Great Maro could no greater Tempest feign,
When the loud Winds usurping on the Main,
For angry Juno labour'd to destroy
The hated Relicks of confounded Troy.*

But the Image, as grand as it is, does not seem to be so noble as the Instances before-mentioned; there is too much Terrour in it to participate of that Kind of Thought, which is not consistent with what is terrible.

I cannot help thinking there is something *Grand* in this *Epitaph*:

*Underneath this Marble Hearse,
Lies the Subject of all Verse;
Sidney's Sister, Pembroke's Mother,
Death 'ere thou hast kill'd another,
Fair and learn'd, and good as she,
Time shall throw a Dart at thee.*

To descend to the lower Kinds, we meet with what Father *Bouhours* calls *Pensées Jolies* pretty Thoughts; and we have of that Kind too in *English*, perhaps to a greater Degree of Excellence, than is to be found in any other Language; especially those Verses in the *Spectator*, which

which are said there to be Originals, as indeed they are, and inimitable. I question whether a Poet might not as easily imitate *Milton* or *Butler*. There are ten *Stanza's*, and they all of a like pretty, and natural Turn with the

III^d STANZA.

*The Fountain that wont to run sweetly along,
And dance to soft Murmurs the Pebbles among ;
Thou know'st little Cupid, if Phœbe was there,
'Twere Pleasure to look at, 'twere Musick to hear :
But now she is absent I walk by its Side,
And still as it murmurs do nothing but chide ;
Must you be so chearful, while I go in Pain,
Peace there with your Bubbling, and hear me complain.*

How the *French* may compare with us, as to this pretty Manner, let us see by a Comparifon. *Menage* says, that this *Triolet*, as he calls it, a Sort of low Poetry where one or two Verses are repeated three Times, was the King of *Triolet's*, and written by the famous *Monf. Ranchin*:

Le premier Jour de May
Fut le plus Heureux de ma Vie,
Le beau Design que je formay
Le premier Jour de May.

*The first Day of the Month of May
Was the Happiest of my Life,
Ah the fair Design I form'd
The first Day of the Month of May.
Then I saw you, then I lov'd,
If you like this fair Design,
The first Day of the Month of May
Was the Happiest of my Life.*

Now let us see what an *English* Poet has said on the First of *May* ; and tho' there is in it hardly any Thing but Words, and those Words rustick to Affectation ; yet they are *Prettiness* itself compar'd to *Monf. Ranchin's* *Guardian*, N^o 124 :

Ob

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I.

*Oh the charming Month of May,
Oh the charming Month of May,
When the Breezes fan the Treeses,
Full of Blossoms fresh and gay.*

II.

*Oh what Joys our Prospects yield !
Charming Joys our Prospects yield !
In a new Livery, &c.*

III.

*Oh how fresh the Morning Air !
Charming fresh the Morning Air ! &c.*

Tho' there is little Meaning here, yet the Dancing of the Words and the Sprightliness of the Images, make it a prettier Lyrick than our *Italian Opera's* can produce.

According to my Conception nothing can be prettier than this Thought of *Buchanan*.

*Illa mihi semper presenti dura Neera ;
Me, quoties absum, semper abesse dolet ;
Non desiderio, nostro non meret Amore,
Sed se non nostro posse Dolore frui.*

*Cruel, when I am present, she appears ;
As often as I'm absent she's in Tears :
Not that Neera wishes my Return,
To see me love her, but to see me mourn.*

These Verses of *Mr. Waller* are, methinks, as pretty as they are gallant:

*Phillis, why should we delay
Pleasures shorter than the Day !
Cou'd we, which we never can,
Stretch our Lives beyond their Span ;
Beauty like a Shadow flies,
And our Youth before us dies.
Or would Youth and Beauty stay,
Love hath Wings, and will away.
Love hath swifter Wings than Time, &c.*

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Notice has been taken of the Prettiness of these Verses in *Dryden's Fable of the Cock and the Fox*.

The *Cock* speaks to his Wife Dame *Partlet* :

————— See my Dear
How lavish Nature hath adorn'd the Tear ;
How the pale Primrose and the Violet spring,
And Birds essay their Throats, diffus'd to sing :
All these are ours, and I with Pleasure see
Man strutting on two Legs, and aping me.

Madam *Dacier* takes Notice of a very pretty Circumstance in *Sappho's Hymn to Venus*, translated into *Latin* by *Catullus*, and into *English* by Mr. *Philips*.

Thou once didst leave Almighty Jove,
And all the golden Roofs above :
The Carre thy wanton Sparrows drew,
How'ring in Air, they lightly flew.
As to my Bow'r, they wing'd their Way,
I saw their quiv'ring Pinions play :
The Birds dismiss, while you remain,
Bore back their empty Carre again.

The Circumstance that renders it so pretty, according to the *Critical Lady*, is *Venus's* dismissing her Sparrows and her Carre, and shewing she did not intend to make *Sappho* a Court-Visit, but to dwell with her some Time. There's another Ode of *Sappho*, which is preserved in *Longinus*, and translated by *Boileau*. It is in the sublime Kind, and shews the Violence of Love.

From Vein to Vein I feel a subtle Flame,
When e'er I see thee, run thro' all my Frame :
And as the Transport seizes on my Mind,
I'm dumb, and neither Tongue nor Voice can find.
A Mist of Pleasure o'er my Eyes is spread,
I hear no more, and am to Reason dead ;
Pale, breathless, speechless, I expiring lie,
I burn, I freeze, I tremble, and I die.

In the *Spectator*, N^o 388. is a Paraphrase on the second Chapter of *Solomon's Song*.

STANZA

STANZA IV.

*I faint, I dye, my lab'ring Breast
Is with the mighty Weight of Love oppress'd.
I feel the Fire possess my Heart,
And Pain convey'd to ev'ry Part:
Thro' all my Veins the Passion flies,
My feeble Soul forsakes its Place;
A trembling Faintness seals my Eyes,
And Paleness dwells upon my Face.*

To descend again to the lower Kinds of Thinking, I shall conclude the Pretty with these Verses of Mr. Prior's on the Squirrel in the Cage :

*Mov'd in the Orb, pleas'd with the Chimes,
The foolish Creature thinks he climbs.
But here or there, turn Wood or Wire
He never gets two Inches higher.
So fares it with those merry Blades,
That frisk it under Pindus Shades.
In noble Songs, and lofty Odes,
They tread on Stars, and talk with gods;
Still dancing in an airy Round,
Still pleas'd with their own Verses Sound;
Brought back how fast so'er they go,
Always aspiring, always low.*

Agreeable Thoughts may be also reckon'd among the Natural, the Soft, and the Tender ; all which in the general Acceptation, are also taken for Wit. This Speech of Eve's to Adam in the *Paradise Lost*, has an Agreeableness which cannot be match'd in the most Tender of our Lyrick or Elegiac Poets :

*With thee conversing, I forget all Time;
All Seasons and their Change, all please alike:
Sweet is the Breath of Morn, her Rising sweet
With Charm of earliest Birds, pleasant the Sun
When first on this delightful Land he spreads
His orient Beams, on Herb, Tree, Fruit and Flow'r,
Glist'ring with Dew: Fragrant the fertile Earth
After soft Show'rs, and sweet the Coming on
Of grateful Evening mild: Then silent Night
With this her solemn Bird, and this fair Moon,*

And

*And these the Gems of Heaven, her starry Train.
But neither Breath of Morn, when she ascends
With Charm of earliest Birds; nor rising Sun
On this delightful Land, nor Herb, Fruit, Flow'r,
Glistring with Dew, nor Fragrance after Showers,
Nor grateful Evening mild, nor silent Night
With this her solemn Bird; nor walk by Moon,
Or glittering Star Light, without thee is sweet.*

To speak poetically one would think every Verse was turn'd and polish'd by the Loves and the Graces. Indeed all the Conversation between the first Bridegroom and his Bride, in this Poem, is exquisitely agreeable and tender, except the very Incident of the Fall.

I take the Verses in *Waller*, address'd to *Amoret*, to be of the agreeable Kind:

*Fair, that you may truly know
What you unto Thyrsis owe,
I will tell you how I do
Sacharissa love, and you.*

*Joy salutes me, when I set
My blest Eyes on Amoret;
But with Wonder I am strook,
While I on the Other look.*

*If sweet Amoret complains,
I have Sense of all her Pains:
But for Sacharissa I
Do not only grieve, but die. &c.*

I could give many Instances of agreeable Thoughts out of *Dryden's Fables*, especially that of *Cymon* and *Iphigenia*, which had been taken notice of long enough before the *Spectator* was thought of; and I do not think it fair, that he should engross all the *Beaux Endroits*, because he printed them first. The Rusticity of *Cymon*, and even his Stupidity, has something in it very agreeable in the Image, which is the pure Nature that we meet with there:

*It happen'd on a Summer's Holy-day,
That to the Greenwood Shade he took his Way;
His Quarter-Staff, which he cou'd ne'er forsake,
Hung half before, and half behind his Back;*

D

He

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*He trudg'd along unknowing what he sought,
And whistled as he went for Want of Thought.*

There is not a more natural Picture in Language than this. Of the same Kind is that of *Iphigenia* sleeping by the Fountain: The very Numbers express the Wantonness of the Wind so livelily, that we feel the Air, and are fanned by it while we read them, which I think has had the good Luck to escape Observation:

*Her Bosom to the View was only bare;
The fanning Wind upon her Bosom blows;
To meet the fanning Wind her Bosom rose;
The fanning Wind, and purling Streams continue }
[her Repose.]*

Mr. *Dryden* was 68 Years old when he wrote this Fable, which I have always taken for a Master-piece, with Respect to natural Thoughts, which are always agreeable, and harmonious Numbers. The Reader will perceive, that I do not forbear quoting fine Passages, because they are in the Spectator. I cannot allow of his Forestalling the Market; and besides, I take his Example to be preferable to his Precept. Himself does not stick to quote even from himself; as,

N^o 91. *Sidley has that prevailing gentle Art, &c.*

And again,

N^o *Sidley has that prevailing gentle Art, &c.*

Guard 110. Motto — Non ego paucis,

Offendor maculis.

Spec. 291. Motto — Non ego paucis,

Offendor maculis.

This however I will declare in my own Behalf, that I have quoted nothing from him which he has quoted from *Milton* or *Dryden*, but what I had before collected myself as remarkable Passages in their several Kinds of Thinking.

What follows, taken out of Mr. *Charles Hopkins's* Verses to the Earl of *Dorset*, is of the agreeable Kind:

*As Nature does in new-born Infants frame
With their first Speech their careful Forstrer's Name,
Whose*

*Whose needful Hands their daily Food provide,
And by whose Aid they have their Wants supply'd:
You are, my Lord, the Poet's earliest Theme,
And the first Word he speaks is Dorset's Name.*

Were not the next Verses written on a Tomb Stone, they wou'd be very agreeable. They are Ben Johnson's:

*Underneath this Stone doth lie
As much Virtue as cou'd die:
Which when alive did Vigour give
To as much Beauty as cou'd live.*

Is not this Picture of Venus in Palamon and Arcite of the same Kind:

*The Goddess self some noble Hand had wrought,
Smiling she seem'd, and full of pleasing Thought,
From Ocean, as she first began to rise,
And smooth'd the ruffled Waves, and clear'd the Skies.
She trod the Brine, all bare below the Breast,
And the green Waves, but ill conceal'd the Rest:
A Lute she held, and on her Head was seen
A Wreath of Roses red, and Myrtles green:
Her Turtles fan'd the buxom Air above,
And by his Mother stood an Infant Love
With Wings display'd.-----*

These Verses out of Dryden's St. Cecilia's Ode are very agreeable:

*Softly sweet in Lydian Measures
Soon he sooth'd his Soul to Pleasures,
War, he sung, is Toil and Trouble,
Honour but an empty Bubble.
Never ending, still beginning,
Fighting still, and still destroying;
If the World is worth thy Winning,
Think, Oh think, it worth enjoying.*

But as the finest Meats are most apt to surfeit, so too many agreeable Thoughts together may flatten upon the Palate: And I shall only add an Instance in Prose, taken out of Mr. Waller's Letter to the Lady Lucy Sydney, on the Marriage of her Sister the Lady Dorothy, who was his Sacharissa.

MAY my Lady Dorothy, if we may yet call her so, suffer as much, and have the like Passion for this young Lord, whom she has preferred to the Rest of Mankind, as others have had for her; and may this Love before the Year goes about, make her taste of the first Curse impos'd upon Woman-kind, the Pains of becoming a Mother. May the First-born be none of her own Sex; and may she that always affected Silence and Retiredness, have the House fill'd with the Noise and Number of her Children. May she, at last, arrive at that great Curse much declin'd by fair Ladies, Old Age, &c.

Under the Character of Father Bouhours's fine Thoughts may be put these Verses of Mr. Waller's, alluding to his gallant Poems upon *Sacharissa*, and the Story of *Phæbus* and *Daphne*.

*Yet what he sang in his immortal Strain,
Tho' unsuccessful, was not sung in Vain:
All but the Nymph that should redress his Wrong
Attend his Passion, and approve his Song;
Like Phæbus, thus acquiring unsought Praise,
He caught at Love, and fill'd his Arms with Bays.*

Much of the same Kind is this of the Lord Landfdown's on the same Subject:

*Thy Beauty, Sidney, like Achilles Sword,
Resistless stands upon as sure Record;
The foremost Heroe, and the brightest Dame
Both sung alike shall have their Fate the same.*

This Part of Mr. Prior's Prologue spoken before the late Queen, is in the fine Way of Thinking:

*Let the young Austrian then her Terrours bear,
Great as he is, her Delegate in War.
Let him in Thunder speak to both his Spains,
That in these dreadful Isles a Woman reigns:
Whilst the bright Queen does on her Subjects show
The gentle Blessings of her softer Pow'r,
Gives sacred Morals to a vicious Age,
To Temples Zeal, and Manners to the Stage;*

*Bids the chaste Muse without a Blush appear,
And Wit be that, which Heaven and she may hear.*

Of what Kind shall we take this Image in *Spencer* to be :

*His haughty Helmet, horrid all with Gold,
Both glorious Brightness and great Terrour bred ;
For all the Crest a Dragon did enfold
With greedy Paws, and over all did spread
His golden Wings ; his dreadful hideous Head,
Close couched on the Bever, seem'd to throw,
From flaming Mouth, bright Sparkles fiery red, &c.*

This of *Cowley* is finely thought :

*Now all the wide extended Sky,
And all th' harmonious Worlds on high,
And Virgil's sacred Work shall dye.*

And this of *Waller* to *Queen Henrietta Maria* :

*A brave Romance who would exactly frame,
First brings his Knight from some immortal Dame,
And then a Weapon and a flaming Shield,
Bright as his Mother's Eyes, he makes him wield.
None might the Mother of Achilles be,
But the fair Pearl and Glory of the Sea.
The Man to whom Great Maro gives such Fame,
From the high Bed of heavenly Venus came.
And our next Charles, whom all the Stars design
Like Wonders to accomplish, springs from thine.*

And this to *Zelinda* :

*Fairest Piece of well form'd Earth,
Urge not thus your haughty Birth ;
The Pow'r, which you have o'er us, lies,
Not in your Race, but in your Eyes.*

And these Verses of *Mr. Addison* to the Lord *Halifax* :

*Oh Liberty, thou Goddess heav'nly bright !
Profuse of Bliss, and Pregnant with Delight ;
Eternal Pleasures in thy Presence reign,
And smiling Plenty leads thy wanton Train.*

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*Eas'd of her Load, Subjection grows more light,
And Poverty looks chearful in thy Sight:
Thou mak'st the gloomy Face of Nature gay,
Giv'st Beauty to the Sun, and Pleasure to the Day.*

These four Verses, Part of the late Duke of *Buckingham's* Poem upon *Hobbes*, contain, as I conceive, a fine Thought :

*But such the Frailty is of humane Kind,
Men toil for Fame, which no Man lives to find ;
Long rip'ning under Ground this China lies ;
Fame bears no Fruit, till the vain Planter dies.*

But the next Verses contain a false Thought, if I have a Right Conception of it :

*And Nature tir'd with his unusual Length
Of Life, which put her to her utmost Strength ;
So vast a Soul, unable to supply,
To save herself, was forc'd to let him die.*

Whatever it is we understand by Nature, we can have no such Idea of it, as to imagine Mr. *Hobbes* cou'd have been too hard for it.

These Verses of Mr. *Waller*, on *Westminster-Abbey* escaping a Fire, are finely imagined :

*So Snow on Ætna does unmelted lie,
Whence rolling Flames, and scatter'd Cinders flie :
The distant Country in the Ruin shares,
What falls from Heaven the burning Mountain spares.*

Tho' some of these fine Thoughts are very nearly allied to the Noble, yet one may easily perceive, that there is not so much Dignity, tho' there may be as much Beauty in the One as in the Other. Thus also, as to delicate and agreeable Thoughts, they are as nearly related ; but a Thing may be agreeable which is not delicate, tho' it cannot be delicate, but it must be agreeable : An agreeable Thought expresses it self entirely ; a delicate One leaves something to the Readers Imagination which is very flattering.

As in this beauteous old Verse of *Chaucer's*, preserv'd in *Dryden's*, *Palamon and Arcite* :

Uprose the Sun, and uprose Emily,

Had

Had *Chaucer* said, *Up rose the Sun*, and then *up rose Emily* brighter than the Sun, *Emily* and the Reader would have been entertain'd with only a common Complement; but now the Reader fills up the Thought himself, and imagines that the Sun rose to prepare the Way for something brighter than himself: *Up rose Emily*.

Mr. *Dryden*, in another place,

Now Day appears, and with the Day the King,
imitates *Chaucer*, but the Delicacy is lost, for there is nothing more to be understood by it, as there is in this Couplet of his to the Dutchess of *Ormond* upon her going to *Ireland* before the late Duke,

As Ormond's Harbinger, to you they run,
For Venus is the Promise of the Sun.

There the Reader fills up the Comparison himself, and consequently cannot but be pleas'd, as we are apt to be, with every thing which we do our selves.

The Delicacy of Thought is recommended to us by the *Spectator*, in this beautiful Passage out of *Milton*, where after the most dismal Prospect of Death, which the Heart of Man was ever terrify'd with, *Adam* is presented with one of the gayest Scenes with which it ever was delighted.

—————*When from the Tents, behold*
A Bevy of fair Women richly gay,
In Gems and wanton Drefs. To the Harp they sang
Soft amorous Ditties, and in Dance came on.
The Men, tho' Grave, ey'd them, and let their Eyes
Rove without Rein, 'till in the amorous Net
First caught they lik'd, and each his liking chose.
And now of Love they treat, till the Evening Star
Love's Harbinger appear'd; then all in Heat
They light the Nuptial Torch, and bid invoke
Hymen: Then first to Marriage Rights invok'd.
With Feast and Musick, all the Tents resound;
Such happy Interview, and fair Event
Of Love and Youth not lost: Songs, Garlands, Flowers,
And charming Symphonies attach the Heart
Of Adam. —————

The Reader takes in the Infection all along in Reading as *Adam* does in seeing, and imagines at the End of the Description the Pleasure of *Adam's* Imagination.

Is there not Delicacy in these Verses of Mr. *Waller's* upon a Lady's Girdle, which leave the Reader much more to be imagin'd than is express'd.

No Monarch but would give his Crown,
His Arms might do what this has done.
My Joy, my Grief, my Hope, my Love,
Did all within this Circle move;
A narrow Compass, and yet there
Dwells all that's good, and all that's fair.
Give me but what this Ribbon bound,
I take all the Rest the Sun goes round.

Father *Bouhours*, in his *Maniere de bien penser*, besides these several Kinds of Thoughts, has the true, the beautiful, the soft, the natural, the simple, the gay, and many more, which has spun the Subject so very fine, that it will not endure handling but by very tender Fingers.

True Thoughts and false Thoughts are often confounded, especially, if there's any Point, Glittering or Glaring in the Latter. Something like distinguishing the one from the other is attempted in the *Guardian*, N^o 110. But I cannot help thinking that it does not deserve the Recommendation with which it is introduced in that Paper. We are told, the Remarks are very curious and just, and must of Consequence conclude, the Applause which the Author sinks, because 'twas in favour of himself, was so too. A very pretty Way of returning a Compliment which he could not accept of without Offence to his Modesty; but, I humbly conceive, the Remarks are not very curious, if they are just; the same having been made a Hundred times before the publishing of them in the critical Letter; and whoever would be at the Trouble of taking *Dryden* and *Lee's* Tragedies to pieces, would find enough of the like Curiosities.

The first is, *Lee* makes one of his Persons a *Cartesian* Philosopher, 2 or 3000 Years before *Descartes* was born: Why did not the Critick remember this too in the same Tragedy *Oedipus*?

As oft I have at Athens seen,
The Stage arise, and the big Clouds descend.

Several Hundred Years before there was such a Thing heard of as a Stage at Athens.

The next Thing this Critick takes notice of, is Dryden's making Cleomenes a Copernican 2000 Years before Copernicus's Time. The Rest of the Criticisms turn upon the Improbability that Don Sebastian King of Portugal understood Latin, tho' he never prayed to God in any other Language; or that the Emperor of Barbary had ever heard of the Names of Bacchus, Cupid, Castor, and Pol-lux, or the Mufti of Archimedes, tho' we are credibly informed, that most of the Greek and Roman Learning was translated into Arabick; and it is well known that the Arabians were the greatest Encouragers of Arts and Sciences for three or four Centuries, when they were buried all over Christendom under the Rubbish of Monckery and Barbarism; and the Revivers of Learning were obliged to them for their Translations and Comments, which were turned into Latin out of Arabick. I have not only read of a Translation of Aristotle with Comments by Aben Rois, and of Euclid by Nassir Eddyn, with Notes, but of an Arabick Ovid, where the Fable is the Foundation of the Work, and several other Classicks in the Arabick Tongue. How easy would it be to fill up such Critical Epistles as that in the Guardian with as just and curious Remarks out of the best Epick Poets! How has Chaucer confounded the Sacred Scripture History with Pagan Fables:

There by the Fount Narcissus pin'd alone:
There Sampson was, and wiser Solomon:
Medea's Charms were there.

Dryden from Chauc.

Ariosto does the same in the xxxii Book of Orlando Furioso:

Joshua's Day seemed shorter than the same,
Shorter did seem the false Amphytrion's Night.

Harrington.

The same does Tasso, Canto iv of his Fierusalemme:

There where Cilenos foul and loathsome Rout;
The

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*The Sphinges, Centaurs ; there where Gorgon's fell,
There bowling Scilla's, yawling round about :
There Serpents hiss, there seven mouth'd Hydra's yell,
Chimera there spues Fire and Brimstone out,
And Polyphemus blind suporteth Hell.*

Fairfax.

All understood of the Hell, which is the Punishment of the Damned, according to the Christian Theology, and here confounded with the fabled Empire of *Pluto*. *Spencer* too mixes Scripture History with the Fable : *Canto ix.*

*The Tears of Nestor nothing were to his,
Ne yet Methusalem, tho' longest liv'd ;
For he remembred both their Infancies.*

Nay *Milton* himself adorns the *Pandæmonium* with Dorick Pillars, while *Adam* and *Eve* lived in the Bowers of Paradise before Man had a House to put his Head in :

——— *Pilasters round
Were set, and Dorick Pillars overlaid
With golden Architrave.*

He also borrows the Rivers of the Hell of the Heathens for his Christian Poem :

*Abhorred Styx, the Flood of deadly Hate,
Sad Acheron of Sorrow, black and deep,
Cocytus nam'd, of Lamentation loud
Heard on her rueful Stream. Fierce Phlegeton,
Whose Waves of torrent Fire inflame with Rage.
Far off from these a slow and silent Stream
Lethe the River of Oblivion rolls ;
Which
Medusa with Gorgonian Terror guards.*

It has been hinted elsewhere, that 'tis ungenerous to criticise on *Dryden's* Conduct and Sentiments, which 'tis plain he varied at Pleasure, and wrote like a great Original, whose Example was to be a Rule to others, and himself to take Rules from none ; but it is not true, as we read in the above-cited *Guardian*, *That his very Faults have more Beauty in them, than the most elaborate Compositions of many more correct Writers* : For I will repeat some few
Lines

Lines that are monstrous, and then let the Reader judge how they can be beautiful.

'Tis false, she is not ill, nor can she be;
She must be chaste, because she's lov'd by me.

— — — — — I'll squeeze thee like a Bladder,
Or make thee groan thy self away in Air.

She who dares love, and for that Love dares die,
And knowing this, dares yet love on, am I.

Good Heaven thy Book of Fate before me lay,
But to tear out the Journal of this Day.

But take what Friends, what Armies thou canst bring,
What Worlds, and when you are united All,
Then I will thunder in your Ears; she shall.

— — — — — Fight, love, despair;
And I can do all this, because I dare.

What are ten thousand Subjects, such as they?
If I am scorn'd, I'll take my self away.

Thou shalt not wish her thine, thou shalt not dare
To be so impudent as to despair.

There's not a Star of thine dares stay with thee,
I'll whistle thy tame Fortune after me.

I cannot repeat any more of it: These are Mr. Dryden's Faults, in which, according to the *Guardian*, there are more Beauties than in the most elaborate Pieces of more correct Writers. I confess it grieves me to mention such Enormities as these are: For no Man can do more justice to Mr. Dryden's fruitful Imagination, and harmonious Versification than my self: But it does not therefore follow, that even Error in him is more beautiful than Regularity in others.

If I had more Room, and more Leisure, I should have endeavour'd to explain the Difference between the several Ways of Thinking. Some of them I have attempted, and I hope it may stir up a greater Genius, to do in *English* as *Pere Bouhours* has done in *French*, which would introduce a beautiful and just Manner both in Thought and Expression. It would then be known why it is that Archbishop Tillotson and Bishop Sprat are both esteem'd Masters

Masters of the *English* Language; why Sir William Temple, and Sir Roger L'Estrange, the *Tatler*, and the *Spectator*, are generally spoken of as fine Writers; though their Manner is as different as their Faces. Every Thing that pleases in Writing is with us, as I have already hinted, resolved into Wit, whether it be in the Thought or the Expression. Nay some, says the *Spectator*, carry the Notion of Wit so far, as to ascribe it to Puns and Quibbles, and even to external Mimickry, and to look upon a Man as an ingenious Person that can resemble the Tone, Gesture, or Face of another. With such admirable Judges as these, Sir Isaac Newton's Discourse of *Fluxions* is very witty, as the Machine called the *Orrery* was said to be very wittily contrived. With these *Escourt*, *Penkethman*, and even *Norris* are Wits, as the *Spaniards* take the *Apes* to be, and that they won't speak because they would not work. I have known two or three Actors who got into Vogue by Grimace only, and acting Parts that had neither Wit nor Sense in them.

Every one of the Kinds of right Thinking has its opposite, as every Virtue has its Vice; and the Sublime especially is apt to be mistaken in the Pomp and Puffiness of Description. Of this Kind is that Passage, where Mr. *Eachard* describes the Sea-Fight between the *English* and the *Dutch*, in the Time of the *Rump*.

" The Battle grew so fierce and so furious, that there
 " were scarce any Thing to be seen but Masts overturn'd
 " into the Sea, Splinters flying on all Sides, Sails rent
 " and torn in Pieces, Cables and Cordage cut in sunder:
 " How it terrifies one! In one Place a Vessel boarded, and
 " in a Moment the Men chased off or blown up with the
 " Decks into the Air. Four or Five Hundred Men would
 " not have made a Figure dreadful enough unless the
 " Wooden Decks had gone along with them. And in
 " another was seen a Ship swallow'd up by the Waves
 " with several Hundreds of Men, and the Sea turn'd
 " red with Human Gore, and cover'd with dead Bodies.
 " and floating Parts of scatter'd Ships. What's the Reason
 " that we freeze in the midst of so much Fire? This is
 " what the French call the Cold and the Puerile Style
 " Again; All which instead of dismaying the Combatants,
 " serv'd only to excite their Rage, and enflame
 " them to a more cruel and implacable Slaughter; and
 " the

" the continual Outcries of miserable wounded Wretches
 " render'd them but the more bloody minded, and rous'd
 " them to a more cruel and remorseless Revenge. The
 " rising Coasts on both Sides the Channel were vi-
 " olently shaken with the resounding Thunders of the
 " roaring Guns, and those engag'd seem'd to be involv'd
 " in the Wreck of Nature."

This Fight was over against the Island of *Portland*, and I really believe the pronouncing of these Words, *roaring Guns, resounding Thunders, rising Coasts, Wreck of Nature*, among the Rocks under the Light-houses, would have as good an Effect with the Help of Eccho, as a Broadside at Sea, which the Historian assures us at the same Time shook the Hills of *England* and *France*. Whence comes it that we read all this without the least Emotion, where there is so much Affectation to move? Are we not softun'd with the Sound that the Sense is lost in it, and we are no more concern'd than at the Sight of a Storm in a Half-penny Picture? *Dryden* lets us a little into this Secret in his *Preface* to *Troil* and *Cress*. He is speaking of the puffy Style, the common Practice of those Writers, who not being able to infuse a natural Passion into the Mind, have made it their Business to ply the Ears, and to stun their Judges by the Noise. A better Judge than Mr. *Dryden* has directed us in this Matter.

*The Words, which in Magnificence abound,
 Grow tedious oft, and lose themselves in Sound.*

Rosc.

This Way of Writing is much more easy than that which is truly great and sublime, as in Liquors, 'tis easier to give them Ferment and Froth, than Spirit and Purity. There are more Authors, says *Dryden*, who can make a pompous Description, than who can write with an equal and natural Stile. He adds, that *Shakespear* himself did not distinguish the blown puffy Stile from true Sublimity; which could not wholly be attributed to the Time, because we meet with the true Sublimity very often in *Spencer* and *Paisfax*, who were both Contemporaries with *Shakespear*, and *Spencer* much the elder. Two Lines of *Sir John Denham's*, on a like Subject with that of *Eckard*, fills one with Horrour and Amazement.

Having

in the Reign of King Charles II. Toft

An Essay on Criticism.

*Tost by a Whirlwind of tempestuous Fire,
A Thousand Wretches in the Air expire.*

Mr. Addison observes after *Pere Boubours*, That it is impossible for any Thought to be beautiful, which is not just, and has not its Foundation in the Nature of Things: That the Basis of all Wit is Truth, and that no Thought can be valuable, of which good Sense is not the Ground-work. Therefore when Mr. *Echard* writes his *Oxcellency* for his *Excellency*, speaking of the Parliament's General the Earl of *Essex*, the *Tyrannical* Parliament for the *Triennial* Parliament, the *New Noddle* for the *New Model* with respect to the Army, and the like, we are not to be imposed upon by him, and to take it upon his bare Word for Wit. Neither is there any Wit at all in his burlesquing such Phrases as these; *Presence of God, Seeking the Lord, Call of God, Jesus Christ, &c.* Which he also would impose upon us for Witicisms.

His Descriptions are not all so lofty and founding as that of the *Sea-Fight*, particularly when he paints *Oliver Cromwel*, without his Breeches, running away from the Cavaliers in his Drawers only, and then turning back upon them and beating them. Of this Kind is the incomparable Picture of the Aldermen of *Gloucester*: Their Visages were pale, lean, and ugly; their Cloaths strange and unusual; their Voices pert, shrill, and fearless; Ambassadors from the godly City of Gloucester. His Similes are not more elevated, especially that where he compares the *Silent* and *Victorious* General Monk to a Cat, and General *Lambert* to a Mouse. He watched him as a Cat watches a Mouse, a singular Proof of his Perfection in Eloquence, which naturally leads us to Expression, and I doubt not the Historian thinks a finer Historical Stile than his own is not to be met with.

As in Thoughts so in Expression, we in *England* are apt to confound all the various Kinds under the general Terms of good Language, and a fine Stile. The Sublime, the Natural, the Didactick, the Narrative, the Tragick, the Comick, the Polite, the Affected, are seldom rightly distinguish'd, and the latter very often mistaken for the Polite. The Admirers of Mr. *Echard*'s History do, doubtless, take what follows to have as much of the Sublime in it as the *English* Tongue is capable of. It introduces the glorious Reign of King *Charles II.*

Having

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Having gone through a stormy and tempestuous Season of various Misery, we arrive at a sudden Brightness and Splendour, a most unexpected Order, and glorious Calm and Sunshine. The Splendour and Brightness harder to be born than the preceeding Clouds and Darknes. What is Stormy and Tempestuous? what Brightness, Sunshine, and Splendour? What Clouds and Darknes? but other Words for the same Things, and instead of Amplification comes under the Denomination of another Figure very common in such puffy Rhetorick, call'd *Tautology*, which I am afraid the Historian and his Admirers mistake for the Sublime, there being but very few that can distinguish Sound from Sense, or Wind from Spirit. Let a Discourse be never so fine, says *Rapin*, it loses its worth when 'tis out of its Place, and appears affected. Affectation in Stile has the same Effect with ordinary Judges as Affectation in Air has with Women and Fops. It passes upon them for Politeness; and Delicacy, tho' there is nothing more vicious in Language. I might fill a Volume with Examples of this Vice, taken out of the Earl of *Clarendon*, and the Archdeacon's Histories, but as I had never troubled my self about them, had there been nothing in them but Want of Method, and an affected Stile, I shall content my self with two or three Observations only, which are sufficient to convince all those that can judge right; and as for others, I have not Leisure nor Words enough to attempt it.

He says the Sight of the *Gloucester* Aldermen at once gave Mirth to the most severe Countenances, and Sadness to the most cheerful Hearts. What Idea can one have of these Cavaliers, as he expresses himself, but that of some Idiots whom we have seen to laugh and cry in a Breath. He has two Expressions about Mines, which are very extraordinary, both as he is a *Naturalist* and as he is an Orator: The one is the *Brass-Mine* in *Cumberland*, the only *Brass-Mine* that ever was, or ever will be in the World. A *Copper-Mine* might have been found out there, and a Mine of *Lapis calaminaris*, which put together, would produce *Brass* enough, if there were Ore enough. Where he speaks of the Cleanliness of his Writing, he intimates, that he is one of those who dive into the rich Mines of Nature. What can one imagine about diving better than that of a Duck and a Dog in a Pond, or Boys in the Bath? To dive into a Mine, methinks, is like running a Man's Head

Head into a Rock. If he had said he had been digging in the rich Mines of Nature, one might have expected some Metall to have come of it, of one Sort or another. When the Parliament, that brought in King *Charles II*, met the first Time, Mr. *Echard* says, *We are now arrived at the VAST Day*, which I humbly conceive to be beyond Conception, and a strange Specimen of the Author's Talent in Elocution. He had a mind to make this Day something *prodigious* and *uncommon*, and therefore swells it up with an Epithet which bursts in the Operation. VAST might have been proper, if he had been speaking of the Ton of *Heidelberg*, or Admiral *Russel's* Punch Bowl at *Lisbon*: But under what Figure will he put Day for the Word VAST to become it well? Doctor *Littleton* in his Dictionary makes VAST to be *huge, burly, wide, broad, large*, and what is much less for the Arch-deacon's Purpose, *mishapen, ill-favoured, desolate, insatiable, outrageous*; put Day to ever a one of them, and see how the Coat fits. Mr. *Bailey* in his very good Dictionary is contented with two or three Interpretions only, as a *huge Day*, a *spacious Day*. *Ludlow*, I believe, would have followed *Littleton*, and then for VAST would have understood *desolate Day, ill-shapen Day, insatiable Day*; so dangerous is it for People to meddle with Words which they do not understand. Of all the Blunders in Expression which are to be avoided, there was the best Provision made against this that could be, if a Man had had the least Acquaintance with the politer Authors, Monsieur St. *Evremont* having written a Dissertation on this very Word VAST, and whoever reads it, will pity a Writer who could fall into so gross an Errour, if there were no Malice in what he had written. I suppose that almost all Mr. *Echard's* Readers have taken this VAST in the Sense he intended for *Important*, and if he had said this *Mountainous Day*, it would have done as well: They would have expected a Birth from the Mountain, and the Arch-Deacon's History is a Labour of the same Kind.

As we in *England* are apt to confound Sentiments and Expressions, so we do the same by Talents, and think if a Man can make a *School-Book* or two, he can write a History. *Jeremiah Collier* wrote a *short View of the Stage*, which sold wonderfully, and immediately the Booksellers

hir'd him to write Three Histories in Folio: And I question not but, because Sir *Isaac Newton* has outdone all Philosophers in his Treatise of *Fluxions*, they would employ him in *Heroick* Poetry, if he were young enough, and would be employ'd by them. There was a *Pertness* in *Collier's* Stile, which was mistaken for *Vivacity*, and tho' there cannot be any Thing more affected, yet it recommends his *Essays*, *Views*, &c. as somewhat in the Perfection of our Language. I wonder Dr. *Felton* should forget him, when he mentions Sir *Roger L'Estrange*, Mr. *Trap*, and other masterly Writers. You cannot name *Collier's Views*, *Essays*, &c. in Company, but some body or other immediately cries out, *Ay! that's Fine*. Wonderful fine, as will be seen presently.

In his *Essays* he has this Expression, *A Man may act an Excellency for the Satisfaction of Significancy*, which has the same Effect in Prose, as it is observ'd of some good Verses, that the *Smoothness* or *Roughness* of the Numbers are an Image of the *Roughness* or *Smoothness* of the Thing. You can hardly pronounce these Words without a prim Look, and screwing up your Mouth with the Affectation of a Girl at a *Boarding-School*. Would one imagine that this was said by the same Author in another place; *Nothing is more nauseous than to be affected*: And yet see further, *Don't let Miss suffer her Heels to get too much into her Head*, not to say any Thing about the *Attitude*, which would be very extraordinary in a Picture. Again, *Seeing and Hearing are the most creditable Senses; the Brain has an unpromising Aspect*, which cannot be known without Dissection. What Idea does this leave upon the Mind? or this; *A PRINCE made but a lame Figure in Comparison with our APOSTLE*. One would think *Collier* had Prince *Prettiman* and the *Spanish Fryer* in his Head when he wrote it. He is so fond of this Conceit, that he endeavours to prove, in his *Essay on Theft*, and elsewhere, that our Saviour's Disciples were Men of Quality, well-born, and well-bred, and if they did fish at any time, 'twas only for their Pleasure. As the *Barber* of *Northampton* told *Estcourt*, He was a Doctor by Profession, and shav'd only for his Diversion. But *Collier* seems to have less Regard for his Brotherhood in the last Centuries, when he informs us that by Queen *Elizabeth's* Injunctions a Clergyman could not marry till he had made

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his Complaint against Celibacy before two Justices of the Peace, and gain'd their Consent, and the good Will of the Master or Mistress where the Damsel serv'd, by which he gives us to understand, that soon after the Reformation the Priests Wives were all *Abigail's*.

Collier's Dialogues serve two principal Ends, the one to carry on an Argument the more freely and loosely; and the other, which is not the least, to give himself a fat Figure in his own Picture, for he himself is the Man who has always the best of the Dispute.

*Well, I can't stand the Force of your Argument :
You are smart, you have brought your self well off.*

Thus he conquers his *Alphius*, and compels him to own, *That the Priests are an independant State*; and thus Boys build Houses of Cards to blow them down when they have done. What a Parcel of Flowers and Graces might one pick up in his Writings, if it was more a *propos*, such as *Slender Difficulty*, *Lean Temper*, *rouchy Point*, *Cheek by Joule*, to con over, to be *Uppish*, *Intents and Purposes*, to glitter upon the Senses, *Enrichments*, *renverse*, *Deconcert*, *bigger Entertainment of the Soul*, *don't*, *on't*, *can't*, *won't*, *'tis*, *it's*, *at's*, and the frequent Use of Proverbs.

*Where there's Life there's Hope.
One Swallow makes no Summer, &c.*

The Use of Proverbs is so far from giving Disgust in common Conversation, especially in the Country, that 'tis look'd upon to be Wit as well as Mimickry, Buffoonry, Pun, Quibble, &c. and you would be star'd at if you should object against either of them as the effect of Ignorance or Folly. The *Spectator* takes Notice that Puns made a considerable Figure on the Banks of *Cam*, and Proverbs must needs do no less on the Banks of *Isis*, when so great a Scholar as *Edward Lloyd* set the Example, two in one Paragraph.

*Rome was not built in a Day.
Better late than never.*

On laisse aux Discours du Peuple les manieres de s'appliquer en Proverbes. 'Tis for the Vulgar only to express themselves by Proverbs. But what are Proverbs, &c.

to Collier's huddling of Metaphors, a Vice in Eloquence which is hardly taken Notice of in *English* Writings; *To be always pouring in Oil, is the Way to overset the Flame and extinguish the Lamp: If you lay a Country constantly under Water, you must spoil the Soil.* Here Fire and Water most lovingly agree together to do the same Business: *To overset a Flame* is a fine Way of speaking; and as easily to be conceiv'd, as to overset a Cockboat or a Wherry. Again, *I fancy we shall sift the Gentleman to the Bran, and make him run the Gauntlet before he gets clear.* The Bran Gentleman having run the Gauntlet, we will add one Instance more, and have done with his Metaphors; *They will glean up the best Thoughts, they will draw off the Spirit of the Argument when the Mine has been work'd by such Hands.* The Gleaner, the Chymist, and the Miner, are at once at work for him in the same short Sentence. If the Writer or Reader's Head can be clear under such Operations, it will be a Wonder. The Spectator has a Remark on this Subject, equally pleasant and judicious: *Thus I have known a Heroe compar'd to a Thunder-bolt, a Lion, and the Sea, all and each of them proper Metaphors for Impetuosity, Courage, and Force; but by bad Management it hath so happen'd, that the Thunder-bolt hath overflow'd the Banks, the Lion has been darted through the Skie, and the Billows have roll'd not of the Lybian Desert; neither of which is so bad as Collier's burning and drowning the same Thing at the same Time.*

The *Declamatory* Stile, another great Vice in Eloquence, is the Characteristick of these *Essays*; tho' I question not but it is thought to be the very Cream of the Discourse. If 'tis excuseable any where it is in Country Pulpits, where, if a Parcel of Words are well put together, we should not be too scrupulous about the Sense. *Then Commerce must give way to Religion, Baptism sway the Indenture, and the Gospel govern the Exchange.* Are not the Gospel, Baptism, and Religion, the Exchange, Indenture, and Commerce, the same Things in the Contrast. I am far from affecting a foreign Word when we have as good a one of our own, much less when we have a better; and *Attitude* and *Contrast* may be supplied by *Posture* and *Opposition*, if the Reader pleases; but the former was used for Decorum sake, the Idea being too

gross when in an *English* Dress. The Author is again declaiming: *It may be the Failing of Drunkenness is imperceptible in the single Instance, 'twill rise in the Sum; To go always a little out of the Way makes a strange Mistake upon the Progress; A Grain will grow to a Burthen by Addition; To be always dipping an Estate, is the Way to turn Beggar; A Drop that's perpetually pelting Will make a Stone give way.* How new, how eloquent is all this, and that which comes after! He is preaching to the Booksellers about selling *Arian Books, Sceptical Books, Books of Divorce, Impotence, &c.* Whatever they think on't, *Atheism and Lewdness is the most fatal Mortality;-- The Plague of the Heart the most frightful Dis-temper-- Infection is safer lodged in the Veins, than in the Will-- A Man had much better be posson'd in his Blood, than in his Principle.* The Stream is the same still, but as a Boar pisses it comes by Spirits. Again, *Are we never to do any Thing without a Majority; If we are govern'd by Numbers, we shall live strangely; If you go to Poll, Sense and Conscience will lose it in most Cases.* Of all the Modern Criticks, who have given us Rules, Dr. Felton upon the *Classicks* is the Author, who seems to have stood most upon his own Legs: Others have learnt much of the *French*, and have been much blam'd for it by those who have and have not read their Books. Rymer confesses the *French* began the *Art of Criticism* among the Moderns: *They fell not to it in earnest,* says he, in his Preface to *Rapin*, till the *Royal Academy* was founded, and *Cardinal Richelieu* encourag'd and rally'd all the scatter'd Wits under his Banner: Then *Malherbe* reform'd their ancient licentious Poetry. *Malherbe* died Seven Years before the *Royal Academy* was thought of; however he did begin the Reformation of the *French* Poetry, and was happily follow'd by *Voiture, Sarasin, Maynard, Godeau, &c.* The *Academy* have indeed assum'd to themselves the sole Glory of refining the *French* Tongue, tho' they can by no means engross the Merit of it. *Malherbe* began it before they had a Being, and several eminent *French* Authors have written since, who were not of the *Academy*, as *St. Evremont, Menage, &c.* But there's something pleasant in the Complements that are paid to it, and the *Antiquaries* have found out just such another Society in *Rome*, under the Patronage of *Augustus*, to refine the
Roman

Roman Language, which, by the way, had been refined before by *Terence*, *Lucretius*, *Cicero*, *Hortensius*, and their Contemporaries, at the latter End of the Republick. The Learned Antiquaries go so far as to name the *Roman Academicians*,

Mecenas,
Pollio,
Plinius, *Valgius*,
The Two *Messala's*
The Two *Bibulus's*

Piso, the Father,
Servius, *Fulvius*,
Tibullus,
Horace.

Ovid perhaps was left out because he was in Exile at *Tomos*; but why could they not have put in *Livy*, *Propertius*, &c. They have given this Academy, the Temple and Library of *Apollo*, to meet and study in, and it is pretended, that *Horace's* Epistle to the *Piso's* was written by Direction of the Academy, and if there had ever been such an Academy at all, one might the sooner have given Credit to it. The *French* Academy set an Example to other learned and ingenious Men, to make themselves Masters of their own Language, and the Encouragement they met with from *Lewis XIV* produced an Age of Poets, Orators, and Criticks. The latter have done more towards explaining the *Classicks* than had been done before from the *Augustan Age* to their own. They threw Pedantry and Jargon out of their Writings, and render'd them as polite as judicious. Such are the Criticisms of *Rapin*, *Bossu*, *Segrais*, *Boileau*, *Bouhours*, and *Dacier*, who are all read with like Profit and Pleasure; and this is the Reason of the frequent Use of them, and not an Affectation of foreign Phrases, and technical Cant, as is insinuated by such as never read, or never understood them, and by such too as have not only both read and understood them, but have learnt of them all the Reading they have, and yet make use of no other Names than *Quintillian*, *Longinus*, *Donatus*, *Eustathius*, and the Ancients. This is very common, and I could easily prove it upon those who have charg'd others with Ignorance and Illiterature. The Reading *French* Authors is inconceivably beneficial to such as do not understand *Latin* so well as *Mr. Dryden*, and *Greek* so well as *Mr. Pope*: They will learn as much of the *Greek History* from *Ablancourt's* *Thucydides*, and of the

Latin from *Du Ryer's Livy*, as they could from the Originals. And as to the Poets, they had better read *Madam Dacier's Homer*, and *Segrais's Virgil*, which they do understand, than the Original *Homer* and *Virgil* which they do not. My Lord *Roscommon* owns of the French,

*The choicest Books that Rome or Greece have known,
Their excellent Translators made their own.*

And tho' in all Translations the Spirit and Beauty of the Original must in a great measure be lost by Transfusion, yet in History especially you are sure to have the Method, the Facts, and the Politicks, tho' you have not the Strength and Elegance of the Style. *Dryden* tells the late Duke of *Bucks*, in the Dedication to his *Virgil*; *Impartially speaking, the French are as much better Criticks, as they are worse Poets.* The Latter is incontestable; and not to mention *Milton*, who is above all Parallel, They have nothing of *Epick* Poetry so good as our King *Arthur*; neither are their *Corneille* and *Racine* a Match for our *Shakespear* and *Otway*. They have no Body to name against *Wycherley*, *Etherege*, *Shadwel*, *Congreve*, *Vanburgh*, *Steel*. *Moliere*, the best of their Comick Poets, could write *Scapius*, *Dandins*, *Sganarelles*, and all Kinds of Farce perfectly well; but for Wit and Humour, Repartee, Polite Conversation, for what the Criticks call the *Vis Comica*, you must have recourse to the *English* Comedies, if you would know what it is. A *French Marquis*, as *Moliere* shew'd him upon his Stage, would only make a very good Taylor upon ours. They have no *Hopkins* for Elegy, no *Philips* for Pastoral: *Scarron* will hardly serve for a *Ralpho* to our *Hudibras*. In the *Ode*, I think, *Malherbe* is at least equal to *Cowley*, and *Voiture* and *Sarazin* are not behind our *Suckling* and *Waller*, in the gallant Way: Nor is our *Prior* behind their *La Fontaine* for Tale-telling. On the other Hand, I am afraid we must allow, that we have no Translation in *English* equal to *Segrais Virgil* for Intelligence of the Original, and as correct as well as harmonious Diction, especially if the Character given of it by *Ruæus* is just. Did we look into other Sciences, we should find our selves more than a Match for them; What Names have they to set against our *Newton* and *Halley* in the *Mathematicks*, and our *Sydenham*

Sydenham and *Willis* in *Physick*. They have no *Bacon*, no *Boyle* in Philosophy. In History indeed they have a *Varillas* and a *Maimbourg* for our *Nelson* and *Brady*, and doubtless the Royal Historiographers will, in the History of *Lewis XIV*, come up to the *Grand Rebellion*, and Mr. *Echard's* History for Impartiality and Truth. If I were a *Frenchman* I should make a Start here, and cry out, What is their *Turenne* and their *Conde* to our *Marlbrough*, and their Great *Monarch*, who took Pleasure in Slaughter and Devastation, to our Glorious King *George*, whose only Care and Delight is to maintain Liberty and Peace.

Dr. *Felton* declares we began to refine our Language much sooner than the *French*, and that the Writers in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign are far preferable to *Shakespear*, *Fletcher*, *Waller*, *Suckling*, *May*, *Sands*, and all the Writers from the *Gunpowder Plot* to the Restoration. He will not be advis'd by the best Critick in Poetry, as he represents him. Mr. *Dryden*, who speaking of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, writes thus; *I am apt to believe the English Language in them arrived to its Perfection*: They wrote between the Beginning of King *James I* and the Reign of King *Charles II*, a Period in which Dr. *Felton* makes the *English* Language to have declin'd; though, if I were permitted to give Judgement, I should continue the Improvement of our Tongue till the Time of the *Spectator*, and the Translation of *Homer*, where, I think, it is in the greatest Purity and Elegance, and that one of the first deplorable Signs of its Declension was even the Discourse upon the *Classicks*. *Dryden* himself continues the good Taste till the Opening of the Long Parliament 1640, when, if you'll believe him, the Muses were struck dead at a Blow, abandon'd to a barbarous Race of Men, Enemies of all good Learning, such as *Selden*, *Whitlock*, *Bathurst*, *Wilkins*, and the immortal *Milton*. This Passage should have been transplanted into the two famous Histories of those Times, publish'd since King *William's* Death, particularly that of the *Grand Rebellion*, which Dr. *Felton* protests is the most impartial one that ever was written; but it is very well it does not stand in need of his Certificate, for there would have been great Exception taken against his Authority. As good

a Word as the Doctor gives Mr. *Dryden* as a Critick, *Dryden* out-does him in his own Panegyrick.

*Let Dryden with new Rules our Stage refine,
And his great Models form by this Design.*

This Piece of Modesty in Verse is excelled by another in Prose; *Our present Poets*, himself the Top of them, *have far surpass'd all the antient and modern Writers of other Countries.*

Thus has he put himself above *Homer, Sophocles, Virgil, Horace, Corneille, Racine, Boileau, &c.* Notwithstanding we were so happy in Mr. *Dryden's* Criticisms, Doctor *Felton* is of Opinion the Art is not brought enough to Perfection among us; and therefore earnestly solicites Sir *Richard Steel* to write Comments upon *Homer* and *Virgil*, as Mr. *Addison* has done upon *Milton*. I am satisfied Sir *Richard Steel* did not keep his Countenance if ever that Passage of the Doctor's came in his Way. I will not say the same of Mr. *Trap*, who, they tell me, is a Poet by his Place, or a *made* Poet, better by half than one born so; but if Doctor *Felton* had foreseen that the ingenious Gentleman would have came off as He did with *Virgil*, and in what a sad Place Doctor *Swift* would find his Translation, I believe he would have postpon'd the Encomium, *What a polite Critick may do if he pleases*, says the Doctor, *and in how different an Aspect Criticism appears, when formed by Men of Parts and Fire*, we may see in Mr. *Trap*; and the Encomium continues for a Page or two: But the aforesaid Translation having cut the Matter short, I will repeat no more of it.

Cowley was in as great Vogue 60 or seventy Years ago, as any Composer or Translator of our Time has been, and Doctor *Felton* without knowing that his Character is worn, informs us, that his *David's* is as good an Epick Poem as the *Ilias*, that his Lyricks are as good as *Pindars* or *Horace's*, that he wrote Elegies as well as *Tibullus*, Epistles as well as *Ovid*, Pastorals as well as *Theocritus*; and that his *Cutter of Colmanstreet* is as good a Comedy as the *Adelphi* of *Terence*. The Doctor's own Words are; *He rivalled the Greek and Latin Poets in every Thing but Tragedy.* His saying so is the more remarkable, for that he had seen the Preface to *Dryden's* Fables, wherein that incomparable Critick, as he terms him, says

Cowley

Cowley is sunk in his Reputation, and the late Duke of Bucks in his Essay acknowledges as much :

Cowley might boast to have perform'd his Part,
Had he with Nature joyn'd the Rules of Art :
But ill Expresssion gives sometimes Allay
To noble Thoughts — — —
Tho' All appears in Heat and Fury done,
The Language still must soft and easy run.

Doctor Felton in Praise of Criticism tells us, with equal Elegance and Perspicuity, *If the Rules had not been given, we had not been troubled with many fewer Writers*: And in the Pursuit of his own excellent Work, he declares, *He has tempered the Briskness of Thought with the Sedateness of Judgement*. The French have their *Pensees Brusques*, but the Doctor could not fall so low as that. *Brusque* signifying *blunt, rash*, and the like. This *Briskness* is, I suppose, more agreeable to the Conception of a certain Bookseller, who being written to by a certain Squire for a *brisk History*, sent him by the next Carrier that of *Don Quixot*. This was thirty Years ago, before we were so well furnished with *brisk Histories* as we have been since.

I take *brisk* in our Tongue to be to *lively*, as *pert* is to *witty* : But I cannot depend on my own Judgement ; the Translator of *Homer* having used *Briskness* in the same Sense as Doctor Felton uses it : *Heaven and Earth became engaged in the Subject, by which it rises to a great Importance, and is hastened forward into the briskest Scenes of Action*. If that Author could bear the least Objection to any Thing that belongs to him, I would ask the Reader whether he does not fancy there is some Affectation in the Expresssion. But let that pass ; if we are rightly informed, the Word *Brisk* is in the *Teutonic Friesch*, which is in plain English *Frisk*, and then for the Gods and Demi-gods to frisk up and down the Field of Action, or the Doctor to frisk up and down his Closet is very indecorous. The Duke of *Buckingham* in the *Rehearsal* seems to take *Brisk* in the latter Sense, as when *Thunder and Lightning* act their Parts on the Stage. The former says, I am the *bold Thunder*, the latter the *brisk Lightning* I. And not at all to derogate from the Character of *Lightning*, which has been so serviceable to
all

all Sorts of Poetry and Poets, I cannot help confirming my Opinion by a very common Simile, and saying *As brisk as bottled Ale*.

Among all the Refiners of our Tongue, 'tis the vulgar Notion, that Sir Roger *L'Estrange* was most eminent. True it is, Doctor *Felton* owns he was good for nothing but *Banter* and *Railing*; for that is what we in *England* generally mean by *Raillery*. Tho' *Smith* and *Johnson* in the *Rehearsal* are not the most lively Characters; yet their Dialogue with *Bayes* is what the *French* call *Raillery*. We in *England* do mean very often the Dialogue of *Billingsgate*, where it is common enough to hear one Fish-Woman cry to another, *No more of your Raillery*, which is there the worst Sort of *Railling*; and for that and *Banter* the Doctor assures us *L'Estrange* was most proper. The same say I, and that he understood no more of true Eloquence than he did of *Greek*, out of which the Booksellers hired him to translate *Josephus*, and he did it from the *French* Translation. The Philosopher *Seneca's* Works he pretended to translate from the *Latin*, and I wish Mr. *Trap* would translate the following Phrases in his *Seneca's Morals* back into that Tongue again, *One good Turn is the shoeing Horn to another. He does me Good in spite of my Teeth. After a Matter of eight Years; and this into Greek for Esop's Fables, The Moon was in a heavy Twitter: Yet I'm satisfied these fine Sayings are some of those that gained him the Reputation of being a polite Writer of English: I have heard that about the Moon very much commended, which shews that we are not sufficiently sensible how mean Words debase a Thought. There's nothing, says Boileau, which debases a Discourse more than mean Words. A mean Thought exprest in noble Terms, is generally better than the most noble Thoughts exprest in mean Terms. I know no greater Instance of the ill Effect of mean Terms, than what we find in two Verses of Mr. Montague's Epistle to the Lord Dorset on King William's Victory at the Boyne. 'Tis in the greatest Heat of that glorious Action, and in the Middle of the Sublime, which is not wanting in that Poem.*

*Stop, stop, brave Prince! What does your Muse, Sir,
(faint!)
Proceed, pursue his Conquest, Faith I can't.*

Mr.

An Essay on Criticism.

59

Mr. Philip's Poems, the *splendid Shilling*, and *Cyder*, are full of Instances where mean Thoughts are raised by noble Expressions, and they are wonderfully pleasing; as in *Cyder*; this of the *Pear-Tree*.

*What tho' the Pear Tree rival not the Worth
Of Ariconian Products, yet her Freight
Is not condemn'd, and her wide branching Arms
Best screen thy Mansion from the fervent Dog,
Adverse to Life. The wintry Hurricanes
In vain employ their Roar; her Trunk unmov'd,
Breaks the strong Onset, and controuls their Rage;
Chiefly the Bosbury, whose large Increase,
Annual in sumptuous Banquets, claims Applause,
Thrice acceptable Beverage! could but Art
Subdue the floating Lee, Pomona's self
Would dread thy Praise, and shun the dubious Strife.
Be it thy Choice, when Summer Heats annoy,
To sit beneath her leavy Canopy,
Quaffing rich Liquids, Oh! how sweet t'enjoy
At once her Fruits, and hospitable Shade.*

I have never met with any Author who so happily imitated the manner and stile of *Milton* as *Philps* has done, and there seems to be hardly any other Difference than that of the Subjects they wrote of.

What I have quoted out of *L'Estrange* is nothing to the Delicacy of a modern Writer of Plays, who without Wit, Language, Learning, or Manners, wrote three or four Farces, which took as much as *Pradon's* in France; but the *English* have not recollected themselves so soon as the *French* did; for *Pradon* out-liv'd the Vogue he was in, and became a greater Jest than ever he had made. What think ye of our Poet's Delicacy and Wit, who in a gallant Letter to his Mistress, tells her, *He's gall'd with riding, Love is forging Darts in his Belly; he's a Dog in a Doublet, &c.* There's a deal of graver Nonsense with it, but it being mostly *Blasphemy*, I dare not repeat it. This Author had his Portion of temporary Fame. *Ogilvy* had his Day, and *Dryden* says:

*Fame, like a little Mistress of the Town,
Is gain'd with Ease; but then she's lost as soon.*

However

However, as long as the Credit lasts, these temporary Authors bear the Port of the greatest Genius, are clapt and star'd at, as those Merchants who are driving in their Coaches to Bankrupcy, have generally the best Equipage. What are become of the *Marots*, the *Ronsards*, the *Scuderies* of our neighbour Nation, yet these Writers were infinitely superiour to what most of ourtaking Authors have been. Could any Body have thought that Sir *Richard Baker's* Chronicle would ever have past from the Justice's Hall Window to the Butler's Cellar, or that *Cowley's Mistress* would have lost all her Charms in thirty Years Time, and become a Cast-Off for City Prentices and Lawyers Clerks, to say nothing of *Orinda*, *Flatman*, &c. Yet these Writers were Originals which raises their Merit much above all Sorts of Translators, and it ought to be a Lesson to all Poets and Historians, whether first Hand or second Hand, to pay the World for their Applause with Modesty, which is the surest Way to keep it in a good Humour; Since 'tis Posterity only, says *Boileau*, which sets a Value upon all Writings, you must not, as admirable as you take a modern Author to be, presently put him upon a Level with those Writers who have been admired for so many Ages, because one cannot be sure his Works will pass with Glory to the next. Indeed without going far for Examples, How many Authors have we seen admired in our Age, whose Glory is vanished in a very few Years. How were *Balzac's* Works admired thirty Years ago? So much that Cardinal *Richelieu* at the same Time that he was meditating the universal Monarchy for the Crown of *France*, wrote in Vindication of them. The Bishop of *Rockester* did the same for *Cowley*; but neither the Cardinal nor the Bishop could defend them from the Fate of all Temporary Authors. Neither *Cowley* nor *Balzac* are now any more mentioned in *France* or *England*. And the main Reason why they lost their Credit was for want of duly considering what their particular Talents were adapted to; for that they had both very great Talents is universally acknowledged, *Mons. de Balzac a passé toute sa vie a écrire des lettres, dont il n'a jamais pu attraper le véritable Charectere.* Balzac spent all his Time in writing Letters, but could never hit the true Character. *Cowley* applied himself to Poetry, and never enough knew the

Power

Power and Harmony of Numbers. He had a great deal too much Wit to charm his Mistress with his Passion. Very few of us are let into this Secret. We cannot believe that a Poet can have too much Wit, and indeed the Offence given that Way is not very common. The last Duke of *Bucks* rightly instructs us :

*Another Fault which often does befall,
Is when the Wit of some great Poet shall
So overflow, as to be none at all.*

Again,

That silly Thing we call sheer Wit avoid.

This probably was a Rebuke to the Author of the *Plain-Dealer* and *Country-Wife*, who has transgressed in this kind as much as any Body, and was the best able to do it. The Author of the *Relapse* is not entirely free from this Censure, nor the Authors of *Love for Love*, and the *Funeral*. But it will not be more surprising than it is true, that *Peter Motteux* declared he had taken a great deal of pains with a Character in a Farce of his, to bring it within the Duke of *Buckingham's* Rule in those Places where he told me he had given it too much Wit. Mr. *Walsh*, one of the greatest Critics of our Nation, observes, that the Softness, Tenderness, and Violence of Passion, are wanting in Mr. *Cowley's* Love Verses, infomuch that he *could hardly fancy he was in Love when he wrote them*. Pref. to *Lett.* Yet there were Variety and Learning enough in them, and more Wit than in all our witty Poets since the Restoration, excepting those above-mentioned. Mr. *Wycherly*, who wrote as good Comedies as any in the *English*, or any other Tongue, did not value himself so much upon them as on a Folio of as bad Verses as any. *Creech* having had Success in *Lucretius*, was put upon translating *Horace*, and it is said by *Dryden*, that he might lose so much of his Reputation, as to prevent Rivalship. Nay, *Butler*, tho' he knew the Follies of Mankind so perfectly well, did not perceive that there is no greater Folly than to undertake what one is not fit for, and was persuaded to let *Hudibras* translate *Ovid*. On this Rock many Authors have split, who would have succeeded had they consulted their Talents, and taken the right Course : but it is a general Maxim with us in *England*, Verses

are

are Verses. He that can write one Thing, can write another, and till our Taste is so refined, that we can distinguish the Good and the Bad in the various Kinds of Thinking, Writers will not be at the Pains to consult their Talents, but content themselves with pleasing their own Fancy, or that of the Publick, by which Means, like Flies, they make a buzzing for a Day or two, and are forgotten for ever. The *Spectator* very judiciously animadverts on this Weakness: *Our general Taste in England is for Epigram, Turns of Wit, and forced Conceits, which have no manner of Influence, either for the bettering or enlarging the Mind of him who reads them, and have been carefully avoided by the greatest Writers, both among the Antients and Moderns.* He adds after Mr. Dryden, *The Taste of most of our English Poets is extremely Gothick, which I have endeavoured to banish in several of my Speculations.*

Another remarkable Observation of Dr. Felton's is, that the best Performers are the best Judges. He has only Horace against him of the Antients, and Dacier of the Moderns, as is already observed in this Essay. I believe no Body will deny, but Mr. Walsh before-mentioned was one of our best Judges of Regularity and Wit, yet hardly any Body will say he was one of our best Performers. There's nothing more common with small Genius's and small Judges, than to demand of all Criticks to write themselves before they criticise upon others Writings. They would stare if it should be said, that Dursley knew no more of Poetry than he did of Philosophy, nor of English than of Hebrew; though it is very true, if it be understood of the Art of Poetry, and the Beauty of Language; yet, that he was a Performer, is I doubt not well known to the Doctor, and well approved of. To teach us good Language by Example, Dr. Felton expresses himself thus elegantly and unaffectedly. *When I wrote these Sheets, my Lord Landsdown's Poems lay dispersed up and down in the Miscellanies; but some kind Hand, as for Instance the Bookseller, upon a very laudable Motive, hath assembled those scattered Stars, and added another Lyre to the Constellation; which, though it is meant, to do singular Honour to those Poems, must have an ill Effect in astronomical Observations; it makes thirteen to the Dozen in the twelve Houses, and must cause as much Confusion, as*

two Signs of the Harp in a short Lane. The Modesty of the following Passage adds as much to its Merit as to the Truth of it: *If I offered any Thing which is not commonly observed, I hope it will not be interpreted any Singularity, but such as may render your Lordship more eminent and distinguished in the World;* and having taught his noble Pupil what he should imitate, he gives him warning what he should avoid, and that is the Reading any Thing written by a Presbyterian: *What crude indigested Volumes! How many tedious Sheets without Argument or Consistency, are the Writings of some of the Dissenters!* whom does he mean, such as *Bates, Manton, How, Pool, Clarkson, Alsop, &c.* He and some other good Church-Criticks make *Presbyterianism* to be a Sort of *Hellebore*, if you do but snuff it up in your Nose you run mad immediately. Thence it is, that the *Presbyterians* are termed *Fanatici*, by the learned and sober Writers of our two famous Universities. Is it expected, that every Orthodox Doctor should know as much as Bishop *Stillingsfleet*, or write as well as Archbishop *Tillotson*? Where is the Reason or Justice of censuring a Body of Men for the Enthusiasm and Ignorance of a few? Would this Doctor suffer the Tables to be turn'd, and a Judgement to be made of the Writings of good Churchmen, by the Argument and Consistency of the Works, with which the learned World are obliged by those of the Country Clergy, whose Pieces can crawl to the Press, whether in Prose or Verse, Meditations or Hymns. I do verily believe he did not think of Dr. *Bates*, when he fell thus furiously on Dissenters, or had ever seen any of his Writings, which are as polite as the Polittest of our Age; the Sentiments as pious, as great, as noble, and as just, according to the Subject, and the Language as pure and as harmonious. What can be more so, than this Passage of his *Harmony of the divine Attributes*, speaking of the Fall of Adam: *Prodigious Pride! He was scarce out of the State of Nothing, no sooner created but he aspired to be as God; not content with his Image, he would rob God of his Eternity to live without End; of his Sovereignty to command without Dependance; of his Wisdom to know all Things without Reserve. Infinite Insolence! that Man the Son of Earth, forgetful of his Original, should usurp the Prerogatives, which are essential to the Deity, and set himself up*
a real

a real Idol, was a Strain of the same Arrogancy which corrupted the Angels. This is what Dr. Felton calls *Presbyterian Crudity*. It is strange, but it is true, that there is a Narrowness of Soul, and a Conceit in some of our Ecclesiasticks founded on the Establishment which we do not meet with in others; nay, not in those who pretend to Supremacy and Infallibility. Father Bouhours, though as zealous a Jesuit as any in France, yet had so just a Notion of every one's Merit in polite Learning, that he freely owns the Refinement of the French Tongue, and the French Manners was owing to those of the reformed Religion, even to Presbyterians. *Nous devons aux dernieres Heresies une partie de l'Embellissement de notre Langue, & de la politesse de notre Siecle.*

And another French Bigot tells us; One of their Historians has observed, that the pretended Reformers began to speak well and write well, and were the First that shewed the Way to others. They were all of them Presbyterians:

———— Parvos femando libellos

Sucratis populumq; rudem amorcando parolis.

Our Staunch Criticks will not allow, that a Presbyterian ever had or could have any Wit or any Eloquence, though it was only to make an ill Use of it. No, no Body must be well-born or well-bred, that is without the Pale. No Man must be brave, nor Woman beautiful. The Men are all painted with cropt Hair, and the Women with Forehead-Cloaths, unless they assent and consent. No Wit, no Language, no Honour, nor any Thing that's good, is to be had any more than Matrimony without a Licence. *Vide Grand Rebellion*, and Mr. Echard's *History of England*.

I am so very well entertain'd with Dryden's *Virgil*, that I am glad to meet with any Excuse for his Translation; and would allow Dr. Felton's, that the Faults are to be ascribed partly to some Defects of our Language; if the Doctor himself, a few Lines before, had not said of the same Language, that it is capable of all the Beauty, Strength, and Significancy of the Greek and Latin. The Faults which have been generally found with Dryden as to *Virgil*, have been his mistaking or altering the Sense of the Original, and turning the *Epick* Stile into *Elegiack*. I doubt not but the English Tongue has Expression for

English Sentiments, let them be ever so great and Sublime; but I may very well doubt whether it has Diction equal to the Strength and Dignity of the *Ilias*, without the Helps *Milton* made use of, as compounding of Words and reviving some old Teutonicks, which would look very uncouthly among the Softnesses and Gingles of our fine Writers of late.

I wish the Doctor had explain'd how he would have us to understand him, when he informs us, that to translate well is more difficult than to write well; by which he intimates, that to form a Fable for a great and important Action, to mark the Characters with suitable Sentiments, to conduct the One and maintain the Other with Art and Elevation diversify'd with proper Epifodes; through such a Work as the *Ilias*, is so far from being the principal Part of an *Epick* Poem that it is no Part at all; for with all this the Translator has nothing to do. The Labour and Merit of it, according to Dr. *Felton*, consist in the Language and Verses, in finding Words to express the Action and Sentiments, and to adorn those Words with Numbers and Harmony. This is all that is necessary in a Translation; and being also but some Parts of the Original, it cannot be more difficult to do a Part than to do the Whole. Can one suppose, that to write such a History as Mr. *Echard's* from printed Books, written Books, from the Hearsay and Report of Men, Women and Children, is more difficult than to contrive and write such a One as the *Cassandra* of *Calprenade*? or in plain *English*, that to invent and tell a Story, is much easier than the bare telling it only? It needs no Reflection. If the Version of *Homer* had been born when he wrote, he must of Consequence have preferr'd it to the *Ilias*, which would have cost the Translator's Modesty, as much as Sir *Richard Steele's* to be put upon a Comment on *Homer* and *Virgil*. My Lord *Roscommon* has explain'd this Matter to us sufficiently:

*Though Composition is the nobler Part,
Yet good Translation is no easy Art.*

Monfieur *Maucroix*, who translated *Cicero* into *French*, writes thus of translating to Monfieur *Boileau*: You have told me more than once, that Translation is not the Way to Immortality; and he excuses his meddling with it, on

Account of his Want of Application and Knowledge : As to Immortality it is to be question'd, whether that was the main Thing our Translators had in View. It will not be deny'd, but that *Dryden's* Bookseller put him upon translating *Virgil*, by the Temptation of so much a Line. And other Undertakers pay well enough to make a mortal Life a little comfortable, it is not much Matter whether the Work be immortal or not. *Ogilby* however is sure of Immortality ; for though his Translations are as dead as his Carcass, yet he will be remember'd in good Satyr for the Badness of them. *My Author*, says *Monsieur Maucroix*, is learned for me, the Topicks are all digested, the Inventing and Disposing are none of my Business ; I have nothing to do but to utter my self : Which Utterance is much more difficult, as *Dr. Felton* will have it, than to study, to digest, to invent, to dispose, and to utter too. I do not suppose, that a Man ever applied himself to Translation, if he felt in himself any of the heavenly Fire which animates a great Genius, or was ambitious of Fame by the Merit of an Epick Poem. It must be own'd, that Judgement is requisite in Translation as well as Composition, not only to preserve the Spirit of the Original, but also to make Choice of such a One as the Translator may be best able to manage. *Mr. Charles Hopkins* was Master of this Secret ; and instead of attempting *Homer* or *Virgil*, he contented himself with *Ovid*, and succeeded to Admiration. *Hopkins* knew, that the Manners and Sentiments in *Ovid* were natural and universal, which must please in all Ages ; whereas, but a very few can relish the Quarrels and Battles, which are the main Subject of the *Ilias*. The Learned have explained to us, for what it is that our Adoration is due to *Homer* : For the Unity and Greatness of his Fable, the Variety and Dignity of his Characters, and his sublime Thought and Expression ; I dare not say Diction and Sentiments, because the Spectator has disgraced the Use of technical Terms, by calling it Cant ; and supposing, that those who use them, do it to disguise their Ignorance, and shew their Vanity in critical Phrase.

I should be glad to know, which it is of all *Homer's* before-mention'd Excellencies, that has so delighted the Ladies, and the Gentlemen who judge like Ladies ; or whether ever a One of those Excellencies has been at all distinguished

distinguished from the Other; or whether there is any Possibility of expressing the Sublime of the Greek Tongue in our Language. As to the Sentiments, which are a principal Part of Epick Poetry, they may be translated; we very probably think much after the same Manner the Greeks did, though we do not speak so. The Passions are the same in all humane Nature; and probably the Expression of them, by so great a Master of our Tongue as the Translator of *Homer*, may gain as much as it may lose by the Translation. But the Mischief of it is, these Sentiments are that Part of the *Ilias* which the Criticks have made most bold with:

*For who, without a Qualm, hath ever look'd
On holy Garbage, though by Homer cook'd?
Whose railing Heroes, and whose wounded gods,
Make some suspect he shou'd as well as nod.
But I offend — — —*

Roscom.

Dormitat Homerus; that *Homer* sometimes sleeps, was said before by *Horace*. The *Spectator* informs us, that *Homer* is censured by the Criticks, for his Defect as to the Sentiments in several Parts of the *Ilias* and *Odyssey*. However, it is most certain, that the Translation of *Homer* must have pleased Ladies and Gentlemen by these very Sentiments, or by the Translator's beautiful Diction and Versification. But then all the great Parts of Epick Poetry are lost to them, especially those that depend on the Dignity and Strength of Expression, which will not be pretended to be entirely preserved in the *English* Version.

Reading *Dacier* a few Days since, I was extreamly surpris'd at a Criticism of his on a Translation of *Homer*, by a much greater Critick than himself, even *Horace* his Master, who has thus translated the Beginning of the *Odyssey*:

*Dic mihi, Musa, virum, captæ post tempora Trojæ,
Qui mores Hominum Multorum vidit & Urbes.*

*Muse, sing the Man, who after Troy was taken
The Manners of many Men and Cities saw.*

I have aimed to be literal here, the better to explain *Dacier's* Remarks. *There are considerable Faults in this Translation*, says *Monfieur Dacier*, *he has forgotten the Epithet πολυτροπος*, which marks *Ulysses's* Character; *he neglects the Circumstance that makes us most concern'd for him, ος μολα πλάγχθη*, who wandered a long Time, *he says in a loose Way, after the Taking of Troy*; whereas, *it is in Homer after having ruined Troy*. Now, if *Horace*, who had studied and admired *Homer* so much, as to make him a Pattern for all future Writers of *Heroick* Poems, could mistake three Times in translating two Lines, what a Discouragement must it have been to those who knew how he had succeeded in attempting it? 'Tis true, no Poet will ever undertake a Translator with more Advantage than the last Translation of *Homer* had; for besides Eight or Ten Versions in *Latin, Italian, French, &c.* there are Three or Four in *English*; a Prose Translation by *Madam Dacier*, and a Cart-load of Comments in all Languages. I am satisfy'd so good a Verfifyer as the Translator of the *Ilias* might with those Helps, have made a very good Translation, without understanding any more *Greek* than my self; and nothing in the World could have been more easy, than out of one Commentator to have corrected another, and to have alter'd and amended the Reading in the Name of any of the Criticks, from *Eustathius* down to *Dacier*. I do not boast of being Master of *Greek* enough to read *Homer* with so much Pleasure in the Original as I could do in a good Version, and it is much to be question'd, whether every one that can read him in the Original do understand what they read: Several Ladies and Gentlemen have subscribed for *Chaucer* of the *Christ-Church* Edition, but I doubt very much whether they understand him or not, and whether a great many, who can read *Greek*, do really know what they read. One of the greatest Masters of the *Greek Tongue*, in our Time, has often question'd whether there were Twenty Men in *England* who understood the Strength, Beauty, and Elegance of that Language, tho' there are a Thousand that pretend to it. He represented it as a Study for a Man's Life, and I am confirm'd in this Judgement by what *Menage* tells us of himself, and others upon this Subject. 'Tis well known *Menage* wrote several Things in *Greek*, particularly some Odes in Imitation

tation of *Anacreon*, which are not thought inferiour to the *Teian Poet's* ; *J'ay toujours fait beaucoup de cas de ceux qui savent le grec, &c.* He always highly valued those that understood Greek. He does not mean to construe and parse it as Boys do at School, which is the most of what we find in those who pretend to be Masters of it. *Without this Language*, continues he, *a Man can't be said to be more than half Learned: Monsieur Cotelier, Monsieur de Treville, and Monsieur Bigot, are the only Men in France, who can read the Greek Fathers in the Original.* I suppose the Fathers are not so difficult as *Homer* with respect to the Tongue at least ; for the Language of Poetry is peculiar to it, a made Language compounded and metaphorical. If it be so, the Translation of the *Ilias*, from the Greek of *Homer*, must shew the Translator to be a greater Master of the Greek Language than all the Learned Men in *France* except Three, and all the Learned Men in *England* except about Twenty. For my own Part, I confess, I make bold with all Kinds of Versions to help me out in Originals, and am not ashamed to do as *Menage* did ; *I own I do not understand Pindar enough*, says he, *to take Pleasure in him.* I have heard *Pindar* quoted a Hundred Times by Persons who were very far from being so modest as *Menage*, and fully satisfy'd themselves that they understood him as well as the *Grecians*, to whom he read his *Odes*, tho' I suspected the contrary. *Menage*, again ; *I never read a Greek Author without having before read the Translation.*

I do not insinuate any thing to depreciate the Translator of *Homer's* excellent Performance, which, as I have observ'd, has the Merit of the most pure and harmonious Diction and Versification ; but to hint a little of the Confusion of our Taste, and the Irregularity of our Judgment, which like Things for Beauties which they have not, and not for those which they have. Thus the Version of *Homer* is lik'd as a Translation of the best *Epick* Poem that ever was written, and not for the Softness and Sweetness of the *Elegy*, which are every where to be met with, as where the God *Apollo* appears in the Shape of *Agenor* :

*Flies from the furious Chief in this Disguise,
The furious Chief still follows as he flies.*

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This is what the French call *Jeu des Mots*, playing upon Words, and what Dryden's *Virgil* is full of, tho' he knew as well as any Body that it was a Fault: *The Turn of Thoughts, and Words*, says he, is the chief Talent of the French; but the Epick Poem is too stately to receive such little Ornaments, which would have been in Perfection in a Version of *Ovid*, and very little agrees with Waller in his Epistle to my Lord Roscommon;

*Well sounding Verses are the Charm we use,
Heroick Thoughts, and Virtue to infuse:
Things of deep Sense, we may in Prose unfold,
But they move more, in lofty Numbers told:
By the loud Trumpet, which our Courage aids,
We learn that Sound, as well as Sense, persuades.*

In these Things our Taste is strangely confin'd: provided the Verses run smoothly, and the Language is soft and harmonious, we think it is fine: Let the Subject be a *Boreas*, or a *Zephyr*: Nay, I do not question but the Couplet I quoted out of the *English Homer* is reckon'd one of the finest of the Version by Ladies, and Gentleman who judge like Ladies, and who are the Nine in Ten of all Readers of Poetry. I confess, I am much more pleas'd with the following Verses, as rough and rumbling as they are, because they participate of the Roughness of the Thing which is imag'd to us,

*Jumping high o'er the Shrubs of the rough Ground,
Rattle the clattering Cars, and the shockt Axles bound.*

When such assimilating the Sound to the Sense is not affected 'tis very agreeable; but when there is any Force or Affectation in it, 'tis puerile and distasteful.

The following Description of the Poetical Fire, which several Poets were inflam'd with, seems to be somewhat deficient, and to want farther Explanation; especially where the Translator tells us, MILTON's Fire is like a Furnace, but Shakespear's like a Fire from Heaven: VIRGIL's like a *Kenning-Glass*, and Lucan's and Statius's like *Lightning*. The *Kenning-Glass* should have given me no Manner of Disturbance: But why is Milton's *Celestial Fire* compar'd to that which destroy'd the *Three Children*; the Fire of a Furnace is boisterous and voracious, consuming whatever is within its Reach. Mil-

son's Fire, like that of the Sun, warms and enlivens; and if ever any was fetch'd from Heaven, 'twas that, which shines with so much radiant Brightness throughout his whole Poem. I was the more shockt with this Misrepresentation of *Milton's Fire*, for that there's something burlesque in the very Expression, a *Furnace*, and one can't help being jealous that this Passage of *Hudibras* might give the Hint for it.

*Talgol, who had long possess
Enflamed Rage in glowing Breast,
Which now began to rage, and burn as
Implacably as Flame in Furnace.*

Tho' I am very far from taking *Dryden* to be a perfect Master of Criticism, yet I do not think his Deficiency proceeded from Want of Judgement so much as from Inconsistency and Vanity, and an Opinion that he was Tyrant of *Parnassus*, and might govern by Will and Pleasure instead of Law and Reason. I have observed elsewhere that he adapts his Prefaces to the Circumstances of every Play and Poem, and very often contradicts in one what he had said in another: Nay, in his Essay on *Dramatick Poetry*, the Contradiction is within a few Lines of the Assertion, as thus; *There is no Theater in the World has any Thing so absurd as the English Tragi-Comedy*, which he confirms by this Verse;

Atq; ursem & Pugiles media inter Carmina poscant.

And a little after; I cannot but conclude, to the Honour of our Nation, that we have invented, encreased, and perfected, a more pleasant Way of Writing than was ever known to the Antients or Moderns of any Nation, which is Tragi-Comedy. One of the most monstrous Inventions, says the *Spectator*, that ever enter'd into the Poet's Thought. An Author might as well think of weaving the Adventures of *Aeneas* and *Hudibras* into one Poem, as of writing such a motley Piece of Mirth and Sorrow. Whatever others thought of Mr. *Dryden's* Criticisms, he did himself full Justice, and seem'd to despise all other Criticks at the same Time that he laid himself most open to them. These little Criticks do not well consider what the Work of the Poet is, and what the Graces of a Poem; the Story is the least Part of either. Pref. to *Mock-Astrol.*

Against him is every Critick, ancient and modern, from Aristotle to Rimer, and more than all of them against him is his own self. In another Place he writes thus; *The Fable is without doubt the chief Part of a Tragedy, because it contains the Action, and the Action contains the Happiness or Misery, which is the End of Tragedy. Without the Fable the Poet, who had otherwise good Manners, Sentiments, and Diction, would no more have made a regular Poem, than a Painter would have made a good Picture that had mingled Blue, Yellow, Red, and other Colours confusedly together.* I do not mention these Things to lessen Mr. Dryden's great Character as a Poet; but to shew how well Dr. Felton could judge of it, when he recommended him to us as a Critick. Against Mr. Dryden, as to the Story, is Rapin, who he assures us would be alone sufficient, were all other Criticks lost, to teach a-new the Rules of Writing. Against his Rapin we find the Translator of Homer in an extraordinary Manner in his Notes on the Fifth *Iliad*. I hope it did not arise from any Resentment for that Jesuit's reflecting on those Poets who seem to place the Essence of Poetry in fine Language, and smooth Verse, to which he ascribes its present Decay. *As if the Art consisted only in Purity and Exactness of Language: This indeed pleased well, and was much to the Advantage of Women that had a Mind to be tampering in Writing Verse: They found it their Concern to give Vogue to this Kind of Writing, of which they were as capable as the most Part of Men: For all the Secret was no more than to make some little easy Verses; in which they were content if they cou'd dress some soft passionate Thoughts, &c.* The most of our modern Poets being interested in this Affair, I shall say no more of it.

I have hinted more than once, that such Poets, and their Admirers, almost always mistake Affectation for Beauty, and I wonder the Translator of Homer should give them the least Countenance by his Example; for I am very much deceiv'd if there is a more affected Period in the English Tongue than what follows: *Nothing is more lively and Picturesque than the Attitude of Patroclus is describ'd in; The Pathetick of his Speech is finely contrasted by the Fierce of Achilles.* Again, *There's something inexpressibly riant in the Compartments of Achilles's*

Achilles's Shield. In the Spectator, N^o 297. you read thus: *The last Fault which I shall take notice of in Stile, is the frequent Use of technical Words or Terms of Art.* The bringing in more French Words to soften and enervate our Stile is of very ill Consequence. The Translator, besides *Riant*, has also *Traits*, *ensanguin'd*, &c. I doubt, the Last is hardly a Word in any other Language, and does not at all enrich our own. Dryden, in an Epistle to the Earl of Orrery, has this Remark upon it: *I wish we might at length leave to borrow Words of another Nation, which is now a Wouttonness in us, not a Necessity: But so long as some affect to speak, there will not be wanting others, who will have the Boldness to write them.*

If I might make Use of the Word *Contrast*, nothing can be more so than Affectation and Simplicity; and the Translator seems, either not to have a just Notion of the Latter, or to have a very ill Opinion of it: For without distinguishing between Simplicity and Negligence, he affirms, *That Simplicity is a Word of Disguise for a shameful unpoetical Neglect of Expression*, he makes no Exception in this general Charge. And thus one of the greatest Beauties of both Thought and Expression is rendered one of the greatest Deformities. Father Bouhours asserts, that *Simplicity contributes the most of any Thing to make a Stile perfect*; and again, *The Holy Scripture, the Stile of which is, at the same Time, so simple and so sublime.*

Mr. Addison has treated of the noble Force of Simplicity as it relates to Thought; and in the following Verses, if I am not mistaken, the Simplicity of Expression as well as Thought is noble:

*So chear'd he his fair Spouse, and she was chear'd;
But silently a gentle Tear let fall
From either Eye, and wip'd them with her Hair.
Two other precious Drops, that ready stood
Each in their chrystal Sluice, he 'ere they fell
Kist, as the gracious Signs of sweet Remorse,
And pious Awe, that fear'd to have offended.*

It is certain, Simplicity, as well as other Virtues in Speech, has its Vice, and that is Meanness which falls naturally into Burlesque, as this Line :

Then he will talk — good gods! How he will talk.

Which the Spectator speaks of as inexpressibly beautiful for its Simplicity, though I think one can hardly repeat it with a grave Tone ; and when I have heard it pronounced on the Stage in a burlesque Way, as it is in *The Plot and No Plot*, it has never fail'd of a hearty Laugh and Clap. Spectator, N^o 39. *There is a Simplicity in the Words, which out-shines the utmost Pride of Expression ;* and he attributes it to the Break, *good gods!* He also informs us, that the Thought is at once *natural, soft, passionate, and simple*. It would have been well for us, if the learned Critick had told us in what this Thought is *simple*, in what *passionate*, in what *soft*, and in what *natural*, there being so few Words to express it ; and I cannot help thinking, that it is but one fond Rant of an amorous Woman. True it is, Simplicity is not of it self very wordy, but methinks the Break, *good gods!* has more of the *Passionate* in it, than of the *Simple* or the *Soft* ; and may be as well used in Anger as in Love, as well in a Fright as in a Transport. It would have gone a good Way in explaining the different Kinds of Thought, if the judicious Author had distinguished them in this Line ; for there are not so many Kinds in one Verse in all Father Boubours *Maniere de bien penser*. I would not be mistaken here, nor be charged with Ostentation, in setting up my Judgement in Opposition to the *Spectator's* ; from whose Writings and Lessons, I have learned more than from all other Authors. I only offer it as an Instance, that the Best of our Criticks do not seem to have gone to the Bottom of this Subject. It never enter'd into the Heads of Writers and Readers in General, that Thought was any Thing but Thought, or Stile any Thing but Stile, or that there were any other Terms or Distinctions for them, but the Good and the Bad, as is already hinted ; nor were they at all sensible of my Lord Roscommon's Meaning in these Verses :

*Whose incoherent Stile, like sick Men's Dreams,
Varies all Shapes, and mixes all Extreams.*

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The same may be said of Thought.

I want very much to be informed, whether there is a perfect Agreement of Thought in these several Quotations out of *Homer*, or how they must be understood so as not to contradict one another. The first Couplet is against *Wine* :

*Inflaming Wine, pernicious to Mankind,
Unnerves the Limbs, and dulls the noble Mind.*

The next Couplet is for *Wine* :

*With Thracian Wines recruit thy honour'd Guests,
For happy Counsels flow from sober Feasts.*

What follows taken out of the *Notes upon Homer* is against *Wine*. What *Hector* says against *Wine* in the two first Verses has a great Deal of Truth in it : It is a vulgar Mistake to imagine the Use of *Wine*, either raises the Spirits or encreases Strength.

The next Words are for *Wine* :

*Then with a plenteous Draught refresh his Soul,
And draw new Spirits from the generous Bowl.*

Again for *Wine* :

*For Strength consists in Spirits and in Blood,
And those are ow'd to generous Wine and Food.*

And the Translator's Observation, that the moderate Use of *Wine* does not raise the Spirits, is not the truer, because it is said by *Hector*, the Son of *Priam*. Father *Sirmond*, a sober reverend as well as learned Priest says quite another Thing :

*Si bene commemini causæ sint quinque bibendi,
Hospitis Adventus, præsens Sitis, atque futura,
Et Vini bonitas, & quælibet altera Causa.*

If all be true, &c.

Whoever reads an Author with Exactness cannot fail of meeting with several Passages, where Self-love, Humour, Party, or Complexion, are uppermost. Thus a good Catholick will never have a good Word for a Heretick, nor a Puritan for a Papist. Dr. Ch— will never speak well of Punch, nor Dr. Mand— of Watergruel.

He

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He who writes well is jealous of him who judges well, and he who judges well envies him who writes well. The *Swifts* turn every Thing into Grimace, the *Whiston's* into Mathematicks, and whatever touches an Author's own Taste, he is always recommending to his Reader.

We all remember how the Duke of *Malborough* was treated by the blessed Peace-makers for beating their Friends the *French*. *Delight in War* was a Mark set upon him in a most solemn Manner, and a memorable Instance of our Wisdom and Gratitude. There is a Paraphrase upon it in the Version of *Homer*; and when the Application is made will turn the *Epick* into Satyr.

*Curs'd is the Man, and void of Law and Right,
Unworthy Property, unworthy Light;
Unfit for publick Rule or private Care,
That Wretch, that Monster who delights in War;
Whose Lust is Murder, and whose horrid Joy
To tear his Country, &c.*

To tear a Country is very much in Heroicks. The Image of *Discord* has good Lines in it; but methinks they would not have been the Worfe, if they had been heated a little in *Milton's* Furnace:

*Discord, dire Sister of the slaughtering Pow'r,
Small at her Birth, but rising ev'ry Hour;
While scarce the Skies her horrid Head can bound,
She stalks on Earth, and shapes the World around:
The Nations bleed, where e'er her Steps she turns,
The Groan still deepens, and the Combat burns.*

I refer to the Judgement of the Reader, whether the following Image of *Discord* taken from a modern burlesque Poem, has not more of the *Epick* in it:

*Non tulit invisæ speciem Discordia Pacis,
Ilicet horrentes ad fibila concitat hydros,
Ulcisci jubet Ira nefas. Spumantia felle
Ora tument, micat ex oculis ardentibus Ignis.*

*Discord enrag'd at the Approach of Peace
Made her Snakes hiss, and urg'd to dire Revenge.
Her foaming Mouth of horrid Poison full,
From her red Eyes she darted Flakes of Fire.*

The

The new invented Words made use of by the Translator of *Homer* are well enough chosen, and well warranted by the Practice of the greatest Poets, such as *Moveless*, *Instarr'd*, *Inurn'd*, *Conglobe*, *Deathful*, *Fountful*, *Lengthful* :

*But if you write of Things abstruse and new,
Words of your own Inventing may be us'd.*

Roscom.

I have mention'd some of the Helps which were prepared for the Translator of the *Ilias*. But Dr. *Felton* informs us, Dr. *Busby* would not allow of Notes; a very curious Remark That. It is not impossible, but Dr. *Busby* himself might have read and taught *Homer* 50 Years as a *Grammarian*, without understanding him as a Poet. A Portion of that Genius which inspir'd the Author is requisite for the Reader to see all the Beauties that are in a Poem. I believe the Lord *Roscommon's* Judgement will be preferred to that of both those Doctors :

*Search every Comment that your Care can find,
Some here, some there, may hit the Poet's Mind.*

If the Translator of *Homer* search'd every Comment, his Labour was more than *Herculean*. I own my self extremely edify'd by what he says of *Antiquaries*; applying a Saying of my Lord *Bacon's* to them: *In General they write for Ostentation not for Instruction, and their Works are perpetual Repetitions.* The Reason is plain, they have no Fund of their own, they must therefore borrow from those that have. It is necessary there should be such Men, but the Dryness and Barrenness of their Studies are inconsistent with a lively Fancy and a good Taste; and I know not which of the *Antiquaries* deserve most to be rever'd by us, those that would restore lost Words, Letters, and Points, or those that would recover lost Fable or History. To know exactly where *Brute* built his *Palace Royal*, where *Bladud* set up his *Laboratory* would be something; as also to prove, that *Cassibelan* liv'd where my Lord *Essex* now does at *Cashiobury*; or that *Constantine the Great* was a *Yorkshire* Man; which Things have been attempted, would be as much to the Glory of the Students in Antiquity, as to find out a lost *Comma*, or restore

store a Letter to a Word that was robb'd of it 1500 Years ago. But as for our Monkish Antiquaries, and the Monastick Learning, it seems to be reserv'd for the Improvement of those, whose Minds, like barren Soils, will never bear without dunging. They are always turning up the Ruins of old Convents, and hope like the Cock to find a Jewel in the Dunghill. They dig for holy Water-Pots and Crucifixes, as greedily as the modern *Romans* dig for Medals, Images, and Urns. To know whether such an Abbey was founded in the Papacy of Pope *Joan* or Pope *Boniface*, in what Dormitory such a Monk slept, and in what Penitentiary such a Nun was disciplined, must needs be very edifying. But most of all the Deciding of historical Debates by old Charters, which, with a little curious Examination, will be found to be forged ones. Many of this Kind are printed by *Dugdale*, as I shall have Occasion to remark elsewhere. If these Antiquaries could fix the same Authority on *Monkish* Writings, as we are told of *Homer's*, that the Claims of two Cities to certain Limits, were determined by what he said of them in his *Ilias*, it would be worth every one's while to read the Monks instead of the *Classicks*; And I doubt not Dr. *Felton* would have succeeded better if he had given us Instruction in the Monkish Learning, than he has done in the *Classical*. But since their Writings prove nothing but their Ignorance and Superstition, I believe Men of Taste and Genius will be so generous as to leave such hidden Treasures to enrich those, whose Invention and Judgement lie under the Calamity of the most extream Poverty. There is nothing but Labour and Patience requisite to acquire a Mastery in these Studies, whether the Matter collected be good or bad, 'tis the same Thing if it be Old, if it be *Teutonic* or *Runic*, *Danish* or *Saxon*, that's sufficient. A Man who has any Warmth in his Imagination, and any Delicacy in his Taste, cannot be always raking in the Rubbish of barbarous Ages, and groping in *Gothick* Darknes. A good Proof of the small Talent necessary for this Work is, that there hardly ever was an Author among these Monkish Antiquaries, but his Language was as barbarous as his Subject. Such Sort of Scholarship is, I own, very serviceable to those that know how to make a good Use of others Labours; but the Merit of the Scholar consists rather

ther in the Goodness of his Eyes, and the Strength of his Head, than in the Fineness of his Genius, or the Regularity of his Judgement. I am apt to think the Translator of *Homer* had not the Admirers of these Antiquities in his Thoughts, but refer'd to the Criticks and Commentators on the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors: For he says, in another Place, *To talk of the Genius of an Ancient, as Macrobius did, is at once the cheapest Way of shewing our own Taste, and the shortest Way of criticising the Wit of others.* This must be only meant of those whom Mr. *Dryden* calls *Dutch* Commentators, of those that do by the *Classicks*, as Correctors of the Press do by their Copies, and instead of applying themselves to the Sense stick close to the Letters, and look out for *Dele's* and *Addenda's*. This they call correcting and restoring the Text; and it is much to be fear'd, that by this restoring and correcting of the Commentators, and the Mistakes, Blunders and Negligences of the Copiers, we have few or no Books of the Antients in their original Purity and Perfection. However, there is Perfection enough left in the *Classical* Writings to prove, That what the Translator of *Homer* says, does not relate to the *Classicks* themselves, but to those that make an ill Use of them, and under their Name and Authority insult the Moderns. The Lord *Bacon* says somewhere, that what we call the Antiquity was the Youth of the World, and that we are properly the Antients as the Inhabitants of an older World, and having made infinite Improvements in all the most useful Parts of Learning.

I dare not say, there is a Quibble in the Expression of so illustrious a Writer, but I must always take the Authors that wrote 1500 or 2000 Years ago to be the Antients; and one may very well Question, whether there was not as much useful Learning lost in twelve or thirteen Centuries of Barbarism and Ignorance, as has been discover'd, or rather recovered in two or three of the last Ages.

The Antiquaries the Translator speaks of would do Wonders, if they would make it out that the Letter sent to the King of *Edessa*, and the Passage in *Josephus's* Book XVIII, relating to our Saviour, are genuine, with several other Particularities, which are much insisted upon by Ecclesiastical Writers. The *Spectator* has told us something too of Antiquity, which wants the Confirmation

mation of the Antiquaries, and that is a Quotation out of a Manuscript in the *Vatican Library*, where *Longinus* is made to say, *Paul of Tarsus, the Patron of an Opinion not fully proved, must be reckon'd among the best Græcian Orators.* This must be a downright Forgery: *Longinus* surely knew the Greek Tongue too well, to cry up the Eloquence of a Writer in it, who, as *St. Jerome* says, did not understand *Grammar*, and mentions the Places where he err'd, *Propter Imperitiam Artis Grammaticæ.* See *Gregory* on the *Septuagint.* It were to be wished, that the Ecclesiastical Writers, even of the earliest Centuries, had suffer'd nothing to escape them that was improbable, if not incredible. 'Tis also much wanted to have further Proof of the Ceasing of Oracles at the Nativity of our Saviour, and that *Virgil* prophesy'd of it in his fourth Eclogue. We should be still more oblig'd to them, if they would prove, that the *Sibyl's Verses* are a Prophecy of the same Thing, which Things are generally asserted in the Writings of the Ecclesiasticks. As to Oracles *Lucian* tells us, Answers were given in his Time, that of the Emperor *Commodus* 160 Years after, *Juvenal* makes their Ceasing to be only 100 Years after.

— — — Delphis Oracula cessant.

Theodoret writes, that *Julian* the Apostate received an Answer from *Apollo* at *Delphos*, 300 Years after the Birth of our Saviour. All which may be seen in *Bishop Potter's Greek Antiquities*, a most excellent Book; and if we had more such Antiquaries as that learned Prelate's and *Mr. Basil Kenner's* who wrote the *Antiquities of Rome*, we might at the same Time improve ourselves both in antient and polite Learning. These being, I think the two most valuable Pieces of the Kind in any Language. As the middle Way is safest in all Things, so as to the Antients to run them down as *Perrault* has done, or cry them up as *Boileau* is perhaps equally dangerous, and out of the Medium. Whatever Advantages we have had of the Antients, probably they had the same of those that preceded them. This we know, that the *Latins* borrow'd as much from the *Greeks* as we have borrow'd from them; and it would be no difficult Matter to prove, that in all the Branches of polite Literature, the Moderns, particularly the *English*, have excell'd the Antients in as many as the Antients excelled them.

The

The Passage of my Lord *Bacon's* before cited, gave Occasion to Monsieur *Perrault*, to bring in that noble Author for an Evidence on his Side against the Antients: But *Boileau* vindicates him in this Point; and Father *Bouhours*, as another Instance of his excellent Judgement, declares he prefers the Lord Chancellor *Bacon* before the most celebrated Names of Antiquity. *Rapin* calls him the greatest *Genius of England*, and he has not more Glory from his own Countrymen than from the learned Men in *France*.

I expect no Quarter from the Dealers in monastick Learning, in Heraldry, and Genealogy, who generally doat upon them even to Frenzy. *Du Val* in his Geography informs us, that there is a Nation in *America*, bordering on the River of the *Amazons*, where old Women go off better than young; under a Notion, that the Knowledge of the One is preferable to the Vigour and Beauty of the Other. Thus these Men please themselves more with the Dryness and Gravity of Antiquity, than with a beautiful Imagination, and the Charms of Eloquence. I believe their Opinion will not have many Followers, nor their Example be much imitated. However, when such an Antiquary as the great *Selden* appears in the World, the Instruction it will receive from him, more than makes amends for the Labour and Time which others lose in hunting after worthless Manuscripts, forg'd Charters, and monkish Fables. The learned and polite Dr. *Bathurst* of *Oxford*, wrote an admirable Poem on the Death of *Selden*:

*So fell the sacred Sibyl, when of Old
Inspir'd with more than mortal Breast could hold:
The gazing Multitude stood doubtful by,
Whether to call it Death or Extasy:
She silent lies, and now the Nations find
No Oracles, but i' th' Leaves she left behind.*

Selden etant sans Contredit le plus docte des Anglois moderns. 'Tis said by a Frenchman and a Papist; but as much as *Selden* was an Oracle, and a Glory to our Country, Archbishop *Laud* and his Brethren would have thrust his learned Head into a Pillory, if they could have come at him. I don't know whether it was for his History of *Tythes* or not; but that would have been hard after he

had been so fully answer'd by Doctors of both Universities; who, however, were not, *Les plus Doctes des Anglois moderns*. Judicious Antiquaries ever were, and ever will be in Esteem. Those that meddle with Things solid and useful. None of the Pretenders to this Sort of Knowledge, are more despicable than such as deal in old Terms and Phrases, who generally affect a Contempt for those that are in present Use as weak and effeminate. The Emperor *Augustus* could not bear these Men, any more than *Punster's* whom he heartily despis'd. The Spectator, N^o 470. has with much Pleasantry animadverted on those Criticks in Readings, and has brought in the *Cotton Library*, *Aldus*, *Scaliger*, *Scioppius*, *Salmasius*, the elder *Stephens*, and a Heap of old Manuscripts, to clear up the Difficulties in certain Lyrick Verses, about a *Shape*, an *Eye*, *Wit*, *Charms*, *Corinna* and *Belvedera*.

As scrupulous and as curious as these *Antiquaries* would be thought to be, one might fill Volumes with Examples of the most notorious Mistakes and Blunders in the Writings of the most learned among them; which are not taken notice of to lessen the Credit they have worthily acquir'd, but to shew the Infirmary of humane Nature, which will always be attended with Errours, and never arrive at Perfection as we have elsewhere observ'd after *Horace*:

—— *Non ego Paucis, &c.*

But in such Authors, what is good more than atones for what is not so, and 'tis only where a Writer shews a Defect in Will as well as Judgement, that he renders himself blame-worthy, especially in History. Several of these Blunders are collected by *Marville* in his *Melange*, &c. 'Tis remark'd of *Pliny*, that in translating *Democritus*, he says, the Camelion is like a Crocodile, and altogether as big -- The *Crocodalos* of *Democritus* is in the *Ionick* Dialect, a *Lizard*, which may be about some ten thousand Times less than a Crocodile, and yet a great many Times bigger than a Camelion. *Eutychius* speaking of *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, surnamed *Pamphilus*, calls him *Eusebius*, Bishop of the City of *Phili*. *Quintus Curtius* mistakes *Arabia Felix* for *Arabia Deserta*. He confounds the *Euxine* with the *Caspian* Sea, and makes the

the Rivers *Tygris* and *Euphrates* run through *Media*, which they never enter'd. Mr. *Simon*, in his critical History, takes *Susa* and *Fratela*, two Officers of the *Gothick Army*, for two German Ladies. The Life of *Charlemagne*, written by *Acciaoli*, having been often joyn'd with *Plutarch's Lives*, was published by *Vicellius* as written by *Plutarch*, who liv'd 6 or 700 Years before *Charlemagne*. *Gerard Vossius* affirms, that the Society of the *Sorbonne* was instituted by *Robert*, Brother of *S. Lewis King of France*, instead of *Robert* surnamed *Sorbonne* from the Place of his Nativity. *Pallavicini* in his History of the Council of *Trent*, says *Lansac*, the *French Ambassador*, was Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost, which was not instituted till twenty Years after; but what has particular Relation to us *Englishmen* is the Charge against *Dodwel*: *Dodwel dans ses Dissertations sur Saint Cyprien prend la Ville d'Olympe pour une Olympiade*, takes the City *Olympus* for an *Olympiade*, the Name of the Place where, for the Date of the Year when it was done, which is Matter of much Humiliation to all such as believe it impossible for so learned and orthodox a Man to commit so great an Oversight; and plainly proves to us, that those who write of what past 1000 or 2000 Years ago, are as likely to err, as those who write of what past three or fourscore Years ago. Whoever has a Curiosity to see more of the *Blunderings*, which the most learned are charg'd with, such as the *Port Royal*, *Baronius*, *Vasquez*, *Du Cange*, *Varillas*, *L'Abbe*, &c. may have full Satisfaction in *Marville's Melange*, p. 208. & seq. taken from a Book written by *Beileau's Uncle*, entituled, *Colloquium Criticum de Sphalmatis virorum in re literaria illustrium*. Of what Size would the Book be, if we should examine with the same Exactness, *Nelson*, *Heylin*, *Wharton*, *Collier*, *Dugdale*, *Brady*, the *Grand Rebellion*, the *Histories*, &c. And collect and publish the Errors, both of the Will and the Judgement. Nor are these Names by any Means more illustrious, than those we meet with in the *Colloquium*.

The Translator of *Homer* has an Excuse for Mr. *Dryden*, which is much more generous than just: He says, *His Haste in Writing ought not to be imputed to him as a Fault, but to those who suffer'd so noble a Genius to lie under the Necessity of it*. Mr. *Dryden's Genius* did not

appear in any Thing more than his *Verse*; and whether the Criticks will have it ennobled for that *Verse* only, is a Question. The Translator seems to make a good *Genius* and a good Ear to be the same Thing. *Dryden* himself was more sensible of the Difference between them, and when it was in Debate at *Will's* Coffee-house, what Character he would have with Posterity; he said, with a sullen Modesty, *I believe they will allow me to be a good Versifier*. If we will believe Mr. *Dryden*, he did not lie under the Necessity of Haste: In several of his Dedications and Prefaces, he has declared, He never wanted. When he renounced his Allegiance to King *William*, and disqualified himself for keeping the Laureat's Place with that of Historiographer, he had a Pension from the then Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Dorset*, which was an Instance of Generosity that is rarely to be met with in the History of *Levis XIV*, who paid more to Poets and Historians than all the Princes of *Europe*. His Bounty has been extoll'd, even by those whom his Bigotry had banish'd, yet he seldom let it extend to any of the Reformed Religion, let their Merit be ever so great. Mademoiselle *le Fevre*, afterwards Madam *Dacier*, dedicated a Book to that Prince, and the Duke *de Montausier* introduc'd her at Court; but the King would not accept of the Book, nor admit that his Name should be put before the Epistle.

The Duke, whose Character had some Bluntness in it, said, Sir, *Is this the Way to encourage Learning: The Lady deserves well of your Majesty and the Publick, and if you will not reward her your self, suffer me to give her 100 Pistoles, I matter not whether I am paid again: or* Words to that Effect. This Learned Lady was far from being an Enemy to the Government as *Dryden* was, and he did not stick to shew it upon all Occasions, even when he was pension'd by my Lord Chamberlain. The Truth is, he was like fond Fathers who can see no Faults in their Children; and as to his hasty Writing, 'tis pretty well known that as easy as his Verses appear to be, he came hard by them: He thought it a good Day's Work if he could finish 40 Verses a Day; and some learned *Antiquaries*, I suppose from a *MSS.* of *Virgil's* Amanuensis, assure us, that *Maro* wrote as many, and drawing them off the *Lee* afterwards, in his Poetical Limbeck, reduced

reduced them to Ten. Godeau, Bishop of *Vence*, us'd to write 2 or 300 Verses a-day. I my self paid a Visit once to a Verse-maker in an Afternoon, and saw 200 political Verses on his Table, which he told me he had written since Dinner: By this Dispatch he soon furnish'd out a *Folio*. *Dryden* was so far from spying Blemishes in his Works, that he often took them for Beauties, and particularly what the *Italians* call *Concetti*. This noted Rant in the *Conq. Gran*.

I, alone am King of Me.

is happily imitated by him in his *State of Innocence*:

I my self am proud of Me.

But to criticise on *Dryden's* Prefaces and Plays is a much greater Labour than to copy them all over, and equally ungenerous and impertinent: If any one will compare his *Fall of Man* with *Milton's* *Paradise lost*, he will quickly perceive to which of them it is that the noble Genius is to be apply'd; and if it belongs to *Milton*, some other Epithet should be thought of for *Dryden*.

I have already observ'd, that I did not intend to form a regular Discourse, and I think I have kept pretty well to my Intention: If the Reader misses any Thing of Instruction by it, he will find it made up in Entertainment. The Variety will excuse the Want of Method in a Subject not so capable of it as where the Matter is certain and well known. I wish I were able to give Examples of all *Father Bouhours's* several Kinds of Thoughts out of *English* Authors, but Examples are much nicer Work than Precepts. Every one may agree that a Thing ought to be so done, but few that it is so done. Men's Idea's of the same Things, vary in the Reflection as much as their Views do in Prospect, according to the Light they appear in. *Dr. Felton* makes a Trifle of it in one Part of his Preface, and an insuperable Difficulty in another. I might, at once, with the Trouble only of Transcribing, have adorn'd the Work, and diverted the Reader. Contrary to this, he says, *If any Body is pleas'd to try, he will hardly find it practicable to illustrate these Rules by Examples.* The Quotations, which he had be-

fore term'd transcribing only, are not so easy as he imagin'd to be done with Beauty and Judgement, was he sure of writing out nothing but what was as much to the Purpose as if it had been made for it, otherwise he might have transcrib'd puffy Thoughts for sublime, trifling Thoughts for pretty, affected Thoughts for agreeable; in short, false Thoughts for fine ones, and I am afraid that would have been his Misfortune, had he attempted it. In his Preface he blames *Tully* for quoting himself, and *Aristotle* for being dry; but as he has not gone much beyond the Latter in his Criticisms, nor the Former in his Eloquence, so I believe their Reputation will not be much the worse for him, and it had been better if the Doctor had follow'd the Direction of *Quintillian*, *Modesto tamen & Circumspecto judicio, &c.* People should speak with a great deal of Modesty and Circumspection of such great Men, for it may happen, as it very often does, that they condemn what they do not understand.

I am apprehensive enough that this Undertaking will be censur'd as an Effect of Vanity and Arrogance, and I am well enough acquainted with the Spirit of the People I have to deal with,

Genus irritabile Vatum.

But I please my self with the Reflection, that I have not mingled the least Spice of Malice in the Composition, as it relates to Criticism, and am so far from being vain and arrogant, that I frequently and sincerely declare, my chief Design was to excite some more capable Writer to do what I knew my self incapable of; and if any such Person shall, by exposing my Errours, give the World a true Light, I will not only gratefully follow it, but rejoyce at it, and take hold of the Opportunity to have my Share of the Instruction, if it comes from clean Hands, and is not defil'd with ill Manners and ill Language: Such tutoring I shall despise, and it being very common for Authors to have as good an Opinion of themselves as of any Body else, I shall not think any Name of Authority enough to justify either Insolence or Scurrility. About 40 Years ago there was a Student at *Oxford*, who acquir'd a good Hand at a Fiddle; but, falling afterwards into Melancholy, he grew averse to Musick, and could not

not be prevail'd upon by his Friends to touch it: They had but one Way to excite him to it, and that was for some unskilful Hand to take his Violin and scrape upon it; he would then immediately snatch it away from him, and, in a Kind of Resentment, give it the utmost Elegance of Sound and Harmony. I freely own I had this Man's Example in my Head when I began this Essay, and should the Success be the same, the End of it is answer'd.

I cannot close this Essay without taking Notice of the Perverseness of Men, who pretend to Wit and Judgement, towards one another: It appears mostly in Pretenders, and is very well markt by *Boileau*, in these two Verses translated by Mr. *Dennis*, and equal to the Original:

*Thus one Fool lolls his Tongue out at another,
And shakes his empty Noddle at his Brother.*

It was not so when Judgement and Wit were something more than Pretence only, when they were in the Height of Excellence, under the Patronage of *Augustus*. My Lord *Roscommon*, in his Preface to *Horace's Art of Poetry* writes thus: *I am below the Envy of the Criticks, but if I durst, I would beg them to remember, that Horace ow'd his Favour and his Fortune to the Character given of him by Virgil and Varius; that Fundanius and Pollio are still valued by what Horace say of them, and that in that Golden Age there was a good Understanding among the Ingenious; and those who were the most esteem'd were the best natur'd.* *Dryden* has made the same Observation: Certainly, the Poets of *Ovid's Age* enjoy'd much Happiness in the Conversation and Friendship of one another. The antient Criticks, says the *Spectator*, are full of the Praises of their Contemporaries. They discover Beauties which escap'd the Observation of the Vulgar, and very often find out Reasons for palliating and excusing such Slips and Oversights, as were committed in the Writings of eminent Authors. Mr. *Addison* has imitated them in his Remarks upon *Milton's Paradise Lost*; but it must be allowed that the Task was made very easy, and the Beauties shine so brightly, that there's no taking one's Eye off of them. It has also been wish'd, that the two or three Slips in Expression which he quotes out of *Milton* had

been excused, as they might have been by observing, that if there's a Pun in the *Paradise Lost*, 'tis the Devil that makes it.

One of the surest Signs, that the Wits of the past and present Age, *English* and *French*, are not of the Size of those of the Age of *Augustus*, is their Jealousies and Broils. The *Spectator* has this Remark, N^o 409; *I cannot think, that Corneille, Racine, Moliere, Boileau, La Fontaine, Bruyere, Bossu, or the Dacier's, would have written so well as they did, had they not been Friends and Contemporaries.* 'Tis said very much in Favour of good Nature, and therefore is very agreeable: But I Question, whether Emulation, and sometimes even Resentment, may not produce very good Effects in the Works of the Ingenious. *Facit Indignatio versus.* Godeau, Vaugelas, Malherbe, were Men of great Merit; and so were also, Maynard, La Motte Le Vayer, and Costar; yet they wrote against one another with some Acrimony.

'Tis Envy and Spleen, that produce a Set of Writers in *England*, call'd *Answerers*, whose Modesty may be conceived by some of their Titles, *The best Answer that ever was.* Part 1st. *The best Answer that ever was.* Part the 2d. *A better Answer than the best Answer.* The *Unanswerable Answer*, by Lesley and others. You can't publish a *Pamphlet* or *Essay*, but it is immediately snapt at to be answer'd: Nay, Dr. Halley's Calculation of the Eclipse in a Half-sheet had two or three *political* Answers.

The Itch of Answering is so great, that some Authors have taken it in Dudgeon, not to have been thought worthy of an Answer; and to prevent such Disgrace a second Time, have written on Purpose that they might answer themselves. I have heard, that the learned and ingenious *Robinson Crusoe* is in the Number of these.

How can it be expected, that Men of Passions, worldly Minds, and Lay-men should escape this Infection, when the Fathers themselves in the first Ages of the *Church*, could not help writing against one another, with as much Sharpness as any modern Writers. St. *Jerom*, in Particular, is charg'd with this Weakness, in his Writings against *Lactantius*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Hilary*, *Didymus*. 'Tis said, that he spar'd neither *Antients* nor *Moderns*; no not the inspir'd Elders that translated the *Septuagint*: Himself having translated the Bible into *Latin*, and he seem'd

seem'd to be as fond of his Works as are other Translators.

Our Neighbours, the *French*, have not been altogether free from this Humour of *Answering*, or rather writing against one another; as will appear by the following List of a dozen Authors of a Side; most of them of the *French Academy*; and I might name as many more of equal Rank:

Balzac,
Godeau,
Vaugelas,
Chapelain,
Ablancourt,
Menage,
Costar,
Malherbe,
Voiture,
Bossu,
Corneille,
Richelet,

Written against
by

[Pere Goulu, Theophile.]
Maynard, Vauvassieur.
La Motte Le Vayer.
Boileau, Ligniere.
Marole.
Pere Bouhours.
Girac.
Costar.
Richelet.
Perrault.
Dacier.
Furetiere.

As the most delicate Praise is that which has the Face of Satyr, so the most delicate Satyr is that which has the Face of Praise. Of the latter Kind are the Verses to the honourable *Edward Howard* on his incomparable and incomprehensible Play. Those Verses were written by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Dorset*, Mr. *Waller*, and others. Of the former Kind are several of *Voiture's* Letters to the Prince of *Conde*, and *Boileau's* to the Duke de *Vivonne* in Imitation of them. Indeed we must allow, that the *French* do understand the *Belle Raillerie* better than we do, at least for the Generality, there being some Authors in *English*, that have succeeded in fine Raillery as well as the *French*. Thus did Archbishop *Tillotson* treat *Sergeant* the *Popish Priest*: Thus Bishop *Sprat* handled *Sorbiere*; and Dr. *Burnet* of the Charter-house treated one *Warren* who had attack'd his *Theory*. If our Answerers could write as they did, they would both divert and instruct us. But we have already explained what they mean by Raillery. They know not how to parry like good Fencers, and therefore knock down like Cudgel Players.

The

The last Word puts me in Mind of a lower Order of Criticks, which are rarely heard of within the Sound of *Bow-Bell*; and these are your *Etymologists* and your *Orthographists*, who turn to *Rider* or *Holy Oak* for the Derivation of Words, and have the learned *Garretson* and other Helps for Spelling: But I know not whether this Essay may travel far enough into the Country to be of any Use; and besides, I have not convers'd enough with those Criticks that deal in Words and Letters only, to be Master of the Subject, which is generally learn'd by such as make a Penny of it in Conversation by laying Wagers, the Power and Test of all rural Argument.

I must own the *Etymologists* are by much the greater Men of the Two than the *Orthographists*. I do affirm this, not only because it is necessary to know the Roots of Languages, but because it is a greater Mark of Scholarship, and has the Sanction of the most learned Universities. The profoundest of our own Antiquaries have, in Favour of the University of *Oxford*, found out an Etymology, that may match with the famous One of *Diaper Napkin*: From whence comes *King Pepin*. Bishop *Stillingfleet* informs us, that the Champions for the Antiquity of *Oxford* say, that the old Name is *British*, and it is read somewhere *Iren* which should be read *Icen*, and that again *Tchen*, and that *Rydychen*, and *Rydychen* in the *British* Tongue is *Vadum Boum* in *Latin*, and that in *English*, *Oxenford*, *Oxford*, and *Oxon*. Such wonderful Discoveries are made by the venerable Antiquaries. *Iren* runs the Gauntlet through three Languages *Irish*, *Welsh*, and *Latin*, before it drops into *English*, but considering there is more Greek in the *Welsh* Tongue than there is *Latin*, it may make Work for great Scholars, to shew their Scholarship in settling the Matter as it should be with a Salvo for the Rights of the University of *Cambridge*.

The Learned in *France* have an Etymology almost as good as that of *Oxford* from *Iren*, which is the Word *Cemetiere* a Church-yard: They derive it from the *Latin* Word *cum* with, and *mittere* to put, as much as to say the dead Bodies are put together in one burying Place. Thus the Boxes at the *Opera* are a *Cemetiere* or Church-yard, because the Ladies and Gentlemen are put with one another there, and thus by Virtue of the same

same Etymology, the Place where People are born and where they are bury'd are all one, from *Cum* with, and *Mittere* to put, as I have heard, that the same Word serves for Life and Death in one of the oriental Languages.

As to *Orthography*, the only Passage I have read in a polite Author concerning it is that of *Boileau*, who taxes *Perrault* with false Spelling, by putting an *s* in one Word, and leaving out an *s* in another. By putting an *s* into the Word *Contemples*, it lost the Imperative Mood which is *Contemple*; and by leaving out an *j* in the Word *Casuite*, written *Casute*, it became no Word at all. When Moods and Tenses, Numbers and Cases, Substantives and Adjectives, suffer by *Orthography*, the curious Countryman has reason to cry out, otherwise the Printer may be answerable for the Spelling.

After all that has been said of the *Sublime*, &c. perhaps the Criticks do make more of Things than is necessary, or in Nature: Tho' Poets pretend to Inspiration, and cry out, *The god, the god*, they are, in the Main, but meer Men, and have their Tricks and Quirks to keep up the Reputation of that Art: Nay, like other Professions, they would have us believe, that there's Mystery in it too; not, I suppose, as Divines understand it, but in the vulgar Sense, as it is understood when we say, the Trade or Mystery of a *Cordwainer*. Some of these Poetical Mysteries are as follow.

We are told that this Verse of *Homer's Third Iliad* was said, by *Alexander the Great*, to be the best in all the Poem:

Great in the Wars, and great in Arts of Sway.

Methinks our *Gazette* Men, and *Courant* Men, express themselves every whit as well, when in Honour of a deceased General, whose Activity had long furnish'd them with Matter for their News-Books, they tell us, He was great alike in the Camp, and in the Cabinet, which easily runs into as good a Verse as the other.

Great in the Camp, and in the Cabinet.

The next best Verses that ever were, are *Boileaus*; and they were said to be the best in all his Works, by *La Fontaine*:

An Essay on Criticism.

Fontaine : The Subject is the *French King's* setting up Lace-making at *Roan*.

Et nos voisins frustrez de ces tributs serviles,
Que paiat a leur Art, le Luxe de nos Villes.

*No more by foreign Tributes are we griev'd,
Which, from our Luxury, alien Arts receiv'd.*

Why these are better Verses than all other best Verses, is the Mystery we are speaking of, and like that of the Free-Masons, it cannot be unfolded but by a Brother; nay, one may suspect of this Mystery what is justly suspected of that; they do not tell it us, for fear we shou'd laugh at it.

Of this Kind, doubtless, is the famous Couplet, taken out of Sir *John Denham's* *Coopers-Hill*, which *Dryden* says, are the two best Verses in the *English* Tongue:

*Tho' Deep, yet clear; tho' Gentle, yet not dull;
Strong without Rage, without o'erflowing full.*

He said he would not reveal the Secret why they were the best Verses, but left it as a Riddle to Posterity. I dare say, there are a Thousand as good Verses in *Mr. Pope's* *Homer*, if by good Verses he means smooth ones, and one would think Three such Monosyllables as *Yet, Nor, Dull*, all together, was enough to set aside the Claim of that Line.

Having said so much already of my honest Intention in this *Essay*, I must, at last, refer it to the Judgement of the Reader, and whatever it is, shall receive it with Pleasure, when it is given with Candour.

If he approves of what I have said, I cannot but be pleased with having given some few Hints to another.

If he does not approve of it, 'twill please me still more to receive new Light my self.

Since this *Essay* was finish'd, I have seen a Book written by a *French* Gentleman, which has been receiv'd with much Civility; and as that Gentleman is commanded to make Remarks on our Manners in *England*, he will not do us Justice unless he puts the Reception his Book has met with, among the Instances of our Humanity to Strangers.

I must own I have not learnt a good deal by it, and the Reading of it has not excited any Impatience in me

to

to read any new *Heroick* Poem. I have long despair'd to see another good *Dramatick*, and much more an *Epick* Poem in *English*, and cannot hope now to see one in *French*, which never yet was seen: However, I wish so well to all such generous Enterprizes, that I think it barbarous to give them the least Discouragement.

My Objections to this Gentleman's Criticisms are for what he says too ill of *Milton's* Poem, and too good of *Clarendon's* History, which he highly commends for the fine Characters, tho' he seems not to understand them, or not to have inform'd himself sufficiently of the Facts on which they are founded. He assures us the Lord *Clarendon* has unravell'd all the Springs of the Civil Wars. I pass by the Expression to *unravel a Spring*, for that probably it sounds better in the *French* Idiom than in the *English*: But the Sense of it is not true in Fact. He has drawn, at full Length, the Pictures of those whose Ambition shook the Foundation of his Country. He has drawn them at full Length indeed, but as *Milton* drew his shadowy Beings, *Death*, *Sin*, *Chaos*, by the Extent of his Imagination, and with little Regard to Historical Likeness, or copying after Nature; his Pictures on the King's Side being to a Man, all so many Heroes; on that of the Parliament so many Scoundrels; which was impossible to be true: For, besides that it was not in the Course, so it was not in the Nature of the Thing, that so many heroical Persons should take Party for Oppression and Superstition, and so many Block-heads and Poltrons espouse the Cause of Religion and Liberty.

But I do not wonder that this Critick is so extreamly civil to the Author of the *History of the Rebellion*. He censures *Milton* for drawing the Pictures of *Death* and the *Devil* with so much Deformity. *Satan*, *Sin*, and *Death*, must needs shock the Readers of a delicate Taste. As if it was possible for the Imagination to paint any Thing so ugly as the Devil is in every One's Conception, and that the more shocking such Painting is, it was not the more natural, as being the more conformable to the Idea which every one has conceiv'd of the Original. 'Tis true, the *Devil* and *Death* are not Subjects to touch the Delicacy of Readers, but are extreamly proper to move Horror and Detestation, which are there the Moral of that

that Divine Poem. If the Scene of *Paradise* was opening, the Reader might have expected something to have touch'd his *Delicacy*; but when he came, as in *Milton*, to the Gates of Hell *wide open*, he certainly should have left his *Delicacy* behind him. *Hans Holben's* Death's Dance is a merry Piece, but was no more proper to admit of *Delicacy* than the Droll Pieces of *Heemskirk*; and it would not be more extravagant to put Perfumes among the Ingredients of a *Stink-Pot*, than to put *Delicacy* in a Picture of the Devil. One of the most masterly Pieces of the greatest Master of the *Lombard* School, a Carcass on a Butcher's Stall with the Gutts and Garbage about it, was much admir'd by the *Italians*, whose *Delicacy* is exemplary to other Nations; whence one may conclude, that whatever Subject has Truth and Likeness in it according to Nature, or our Conception of it, will always please, as an exact and lively Imitation. I shall take no more Notice of the Criticisms on *Milton* in this Place, nor perhaps in any other; but I can never read the Remarks of the Criticks on the *Paradise Lost*, without calling to Mind the Boast of King *Alphonso*, who criticising on the Form of the *Creation*, said, *If he had been consulted in it, it should have been more perfect.*

F I N I S.



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